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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JOHN CALVIN:

TOGETHER WITH

A SELECTION OF LETTERS,

WRITTEN BY HIM, AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED REFORMERS:

ALSO,

NOTES, AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SOME OF
HIS COTEMPORARIES.

COMPILED BY
THE REV. ELIJAH WATERMAN,
PASTOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN BRIDGEPORT.

Calvinum assiduè comitata modestia vivum,
Hoc corde manibus finxerat ipsa suis
Ipsa à quo potuit virtutem discere virtus :
Roma, tuus terror maximus ille fuit.

HARTFORD:
PRINTED BY HALE & HOSMER.
1813.

Drew, 11-25-57

that he has not fallen into errours, either from his own inattention or the incorrectness of his guides.

The original plan has been extended, and the labour bestowed upon the compilation is much greater than was at first proposed. A necessity, arising from circumstances which it would be useless to detail, has precluded the opportunity of that more severe revision of the work, which the compiler would most cheerfully have attempted, in order to have rendered it more worthy of the extensive patronage it has received.

In making a selection from the numerous Letters of Calvin and others, he has been desirous of producing those which he believed would best illustrate the events of the life and the moral qualities of the mind of Calvin. Written from the impulse of the moment, and in the confidence of friendship, they are the index of his heart, and a rigorous testimony, that his talents were profound, his labours immense, and his influence, in the Reformation, commensurate with both.

The compiler cheerfully acknowledges his obligation to several gentlemen for their obliging generosity in supplying him with rare and valuable books, by which he has been enabled to bring before the patrons of the work, new and correct information, concerning Calvin, the Reformers and the Reformation itself.

BRIDGEPORT, March 1, 1813.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
JOHN CALVIN.

JOHN CALVIN was born at Noyon in Picardy, a province of France, July 10th, A. D. 1509. His parents, Gerard Chauvin and Joanna le Franc, were in respectable circumstances and of virtuous and unblemished reputation.* They possessed the esteem of many of the nobility in their neighbourhood, and were favoured with the privilege of liberally educating their son in the family of Mommor, one of the most distinguished in that province. In this noble family, Calvin received the discipline of childhood and the rudiments of literature.† With the children of this nobleman, his father sent him to Paris, for the more favourable prosecution of his studies. Under the instruction of the learned Mathurin Cordier,‡ Principal of the College of la Marche, he laid the foundation of that correct knowledge of the Latin language, which enabled him eminently to surpass his cotemporaries in writing it with elegance and ease.

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* Beza de Cœna Domini, &c. Oper. Tom. 1. page 257.

† See the dedication to Claude Hangest, in commentariis Senecæ de Clementia; Tractatis Theologicis Calvini, ad finem. Amsterdam edition, 1667.

‡ See Notes and Biographical sketches in this volume: No. 1.

From la Marche, Calvin was removed to the College of Montaigu. In this seminary, under the instruction of a learned Spaniard, he made unusual proficiency, and was distinguished by being advanced from the common exercises of his fellow-students, to those of philosophy and the mathematicks. In his boyhood he discovered a devout disposition, in severely censuring the vices of his companions. His father viewed with pleasure the grave deportment of his son, and procured for him, at the age of 12 years, from the Bishop of Noyon, a benefice in the Cathedral Church of la Gesine. At this time he must have received the tonsure,* the first step towards priestly orders in the Church of Rome, of which he was a member, and to which his father was now looking for his advancement in wealth and honour. Calvin however was ultimately introduced to the work of the ministry in a way vastly different from what his father had devised, and for purposes totally foreign from those which his patrons in the Church had intended.

For several years Calvin pursued the study of polite literature at Paris. In 1527, he was presented to an additional benefice, the Rectory of Martville, which, in 1529, he exchanged for the parochial Curacy of Pont l'Eveque,† the native place of his father. In this town Calvin sometimes preached, although he belonged to the clergy only by the tonsure. Gerard, flattered with the distinguished attainments of his son, and observing how greatly the science of the law enriched its professors, suddenly changed his purpose, and recalled him from the study of philosophy, to that of jurisprudence. On this course of studies, Calvin entered reluctantly, and only in obedience to the will of his father. He says himself,‡ that his mind was too strongly addicted to the superstitions of the Papacy, to be easily drawn from that mire; and his habits too firmly seasoned, to yield with docility to a change of studies so unexpected. About this time, he became acquainted with his kinsman Peter Robert Olivetan.* This acquaintance was followed by consequences of great moment to Calvin and the cause of the Reformation, which was now almost imperceptibly extending its influence in France. From that learned and pious man he imbibed his first taste for the true doctrines of religion. The dawning of the pure light upon his devout mind awakened him to unremitting diligence in searching the scriptures. His other studies, for which he had no affection, he pursued in a cold and indifferent manner. He seized every unoccupied hour for the private perusal of the Bible, till, his mind sickening at the superstitious errours of Popery, he began to withdraw himself from that communion.

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* See Notes and Biog. No. 2.

† Drelincourt, as quoted by Bayle, Gen. Dic. Art. Cal.

‡ See Letters in this Work, No. 1.

On changing his purpose, as to the profession of his son, Gerard placed him at the University of Orleans. And although Calvin was indifferent to the study of jurisprudence, he still made such progress, under the tuition of the learned Peter Stella,† that he was invited by the professors to supply the chair, in their occasional absence. On leaving that University, he received, as a testimony of respect, a unanimous and gratuitous offer, from the whole faculty, of a doctor's degree.

Before a year had passed at Orleans, he attracted the attention of all those, who were desirous of the knowledge of the true doctrines. Modesty and diffidence were predominant qualities of his mind. He was fond of retirement, and at this time peculiarly solicitous to be unknown. This however was so far from being granted him, that all his retreats for study were frequented by such numbers as to have the appearance of a public school. His application to study was severe, and his acquirements were rich and astonishing. He seldom retired for sleep till the night was far advanced. He allowed himself only a few hours for repose, and resumed, in his morning meditations, the subject which had engaged his attention the preceding evening. He thus digested and stored up in his memory, whatever he apprehended would be valuable for future application. This practice, continued morning by morning, contributed extensively to facilitate his acquisition of knowledge, to strengthen his unusual powers of memory, and to enlarge the vigorous grasp of his youthful mind.

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* See Notes and Biog. No. 3.

† This distinguished lawyer was afterwards President of the Parliament of Paris. Bayle.

Andrew Alciat, an Italian lawyer, had by his talents given a high reputation to the University of Bourges. Calvin was removed by his father from Orleans, to attend the lectures of this distinguished Professor. The munificence of Francis I. in patronizing literary men, had drawn many foreigners into France, and among others the learned Melchior Wolmar,* who was, at this time, Professor of the Greek language, in that University. Under his instruction Calvin applied himself to the study of the Greek. Both literature and religion combined to form between these two men a strong and durable friendship. During his residence at Bourges, Calvin united with his professional studies his researches on theological subjects, and occasionally preached at Ligniers, a small town in the province of Berri, with the permission and sometimes in the presence of the Seigneur. The sudden death of his father recalled him from Bourges to the domestick concerns of the family at Noyon.†

From his native place, Calvin visited Paris, and prepared his very learned and elaborate commentary on Seneca's Epistle *de Clementia*. Anticipating the progress of the *new opi-*

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* See Notes and Biog. No. 4. † Beza, Opera Tom. 1, pag. 257—speaking of the mother of Calvin, says—"Honestissimam matronam jam olim defunctam—*That most virtuous woman long since deceased.*"

nions, and the violent persecutions which would be raised to suppress every incipient attempt to reform the abuses of the Church, he selected, with the provident spirit of a great genius, this appropriate subject, and laboured, with much address, to impress on the mind of Francis, the mild and moderating principles of clemency.* He illustrated and enforced the thoughts of that moralist, by an extensive selection of authorities and examples from the most distinguished Poets and Historians of Greece and Rome. It is a specimen of learning and eloquence unrivalled as the production of a young man at the age of twenty-two years.

The dedication of this work to Claude Hangest, Abbot of St. Eloi at Noyon, one of the family of Mommor, bears date at Paris, April 4th, 1532. As it was written in Latin, the author of course latinized his own name, *Cauvin*, by *Calvinus*. *Cauvin* in the dialect of Picardy, his native province, and *Chauvin* in French, have the same import as *Calvinus* in Latin. This work was extensively circulated, and the author became known by the common appellation of *Calvin*, which he afterwards retained as the surname of his family.†

During a few months residence at Paris, Calvin became acquainted with the principal advocates of the pure doctrines. Among these he especially distinguished Stephen de la Forge,‡ a celebrated merchant, who was afterwards burnt for the name of Christ. Being left free at this time to make his own election of pursuits in life, Calvin laid aside his legal studies, and devoted himself to the cause of religion. This gave high satisfaction to the friends of the Reformation, who then held their private assemblies at Paris. In these he was active in illustrating and confirming the genuine doctrines of the Bible.

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* Varillas Hist. of Francis I. as quoted by Bayle.

† Calvin has been captiously censured by his enemies, for the change of a letter in his name.—But the censure equally falls upon Erasmus, Luther, Melancthon—and almost every author of any distinction in that period.——Dupin Eccles. Hist. Cent. 16. book 3, p. 255; and Maimbourg and Drelincourt, in Bayle.—Art. Cal.

‡ He is mentioned by Calvin with the distinction of a martyr in his Tract against *the Libertines.*——Opuscula Calvini, p. 376.

On the first of November, Nicholas Cop, Rector of the University of Paris, delivered a discourse, at the meeting for the annual celebration of the festival of *All Saints.** At the suggestion of Calvin, the Rector treated concerning the superstitions of that day, with a plainness which offended the Doctors of the Sorbonne and the Parliament of Paris. The Rector was summoned to appear before the Senate. He surrendered himself to the officer; but on his way he was admonished by his friends not to trust himself with his adversaries. He returned home, and subsequently retired to *Basil,* his native City.†

Calvin being implicated in this business, was next pursued by Morin, who hasted to his lodgings in the College of Fortret, to seize his person. At this time Calvin was providentially absent; but Morin secured his papers, among which were several letters from his friends, whose lives by this event were exposed to imminent danger.

The minds of the inquisitorial judges were so highly exasperated against the Reformers, that their severity was only arrested by the interference of Margaret de Valois, Queen of Navarre.‡ This Princess was the only sister of Francis I. Possessed of strong powers of mind, and an amiable temper, she was eminently qualified, both by the dignity of her station and the purity of her principles, to afford a powerful protection to the persecuted Reformers. At the very side of the throne, her enlightened soul penetrated the dark coverings which the arts of superstition had thrown before the eyes of royalty. She early cherished, with an affectionate heart, the dawning light of the true doctrines and pure worship of God. In this persecution she extended her favour to Calvin; sent for him to her palace; received him with kindness; heard him discourse; and used her influence with the king for his personal safety.

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* The origin of All Saints day.—When the Saints in the Church of Rome had multiplied beyond the number of the days of the year—the first of November was consecrated with due ceremonies to honour [illegible]nagia, *All the Saints.*———Rees' Cyclopædia—Art. All Saints.

† See Letters, No. 2.

‡ See Notes and Biog. No. 5.

From Paris, Calvin retired to Saintonge, to visit his friend Lewis du Tillet, Canon of Angouleme. Their acquaintance commenced at the University of Orleans. Calvin, during his residence in this respectable family, instructed Tillet in the Greek language, and in the pure doctrines of the gospel. He drew up, at his request, some short Christian exhortations, which were publickly read in the Church and distributed among the people, in order to bring their minds, by degrees, to an enquiry after the truth.

From Saintonge, Calvin went to Nerac, in the province of Aquitain, to visit James Faber, Stapulensis, Professor in the University of Paris.* The Queen of Navarre had rescued, after a severe contest, this early Reformer out of the hands of the Inquisitors of the Sorbonne, who threatened his life for having agitated theological questions in that seminary. She provided for his security and support in Nerac, a town within her own jurisdiction. This venerable old man received young Calvin with joy, and predicted that he would be the instrument, in the hands of God, of establishing the true religion in France.

Calvin returned to Paris, and with much caution secreted himself from the rage of his enemies, who still remembered the abuse which by his means had been offered to their Saints. At this time, Michel Servetus had commenced the dissemination of his opinions concerning the doctrine of the holy Trinity. He requested an interview with Calvin, for a publick disputation. The latter, at the manifest hazard of his life, repaired to the appointed place, and waited a long time in vain for the arrival of his antagonist.

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* See Notes and Biog. No. 6.

Francis, under the influence of his sister, appeared disposed to treat the Reformers with moderation. He had from political motives, at least, favoured the Lutherans in Germany, and even invited Melancthon to reside at Paris. This moderation excited the resentment of the Pope, and the prejudices of many of his own subjects, who were anxious to root up every germ of the Reformation, by the severest means. Alarmed by the threats of the Pope, and the virulence of his adherents, Francis was prepared to take any occasion to retrieve the confidence of the Papists, and strengthen himself against his rival Charles V. "The indiscreet zeal of some, who had imbibed the reformed opinions, furnished him with such an occasion as he desired. They had affixed at the gates of the palace, and other publick places, papers containing indecent reflections on the doctrines and rites of the Popish Church." Gerard Roussel, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and Coraud, a Monk of the order of Augustine, who had, through the influence of the Queen of Navarre, for two years publickly preached the true doctrines in Paris, were now seized in their pulpits and thrown into prison.* The King, infatuated with rage at this insult, decreed a publick procession. "The holy sacrament was carried through the city in great pomp. Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a lighted torch in his hand; the princes of the blood supported the canopy over it; the nobles marched in order behind. In the presence of this numerous assembly, the King, in strong and animated language, declared that if one of his hands were infected with heresy, he would cut it off with the other, and would not spare even his own children if found guilty of that crime."* To finish the proof of his zeal for the Romish Church, he ordered eight of the Reformers to be burnt alive, in four of the most frequented parts of the city. The sentence was executed, with all the torture of the most ferocious barbarity.

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* See Notes and Biog. No. 7.

After these transactions, Calvin, steady to his purpose, tóok a more decided stand in the cause of the Reformation. He publickly renounced all fellowship with the Romish Church, by resigning, on the 4th of May, 1534, the benefices of the Chapel of la Gesine and the Rectory of Pont l'Eveque.† By a covert conduct, he might have still enjoyed the annual emolument of these livings under the Papacy. In throwing himself, therefore, poor and unpatronized, upon the hand of his Divine Master, he demonstrated the firmness of his principles, and the purity of his motives. Retiring to Orleans, the place of his more youthful studies and devotions, he prepared and published a scriptural and elaborate confutation of an errour revived from ancient times, *That the soul sleeps from death, to the resurrection of the body.* This treatise‡ is a proof, that the author, at the age of 25, was intimately acquainted with the divine scriptures and the works of the Fathers; that his studies must have been laborious, his memory strong, and his intellect clear and comprehensive.

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* Robertson's Charles V. B. 6, p. 111, and 112.—Mosheim, Vol. 3. p. 351.—Dupin.—16 Cent.

† Drelincourt—quoted by Bayle.

‡ It was entitled *Psychopannychia*—The dedication to a certain friend is dated Orleans, 1534.——Opuscula Calvini, p. 335.

The Reformation commenced at Basil in 1525, and its progress opened a safe retreat for Cop, the Rector of the University of Paris. To this city Calvin now looked for personal safety, and a retirement for study, which his own country denied him. In company with his friend Lewis du Tillet, he proceeded on his way from Orleans to Basil through Lorraine. Near Metz, one of the servants taking their money escaped with a horse, and left them embarrassed without the means of proceeding. By the assistance of the other servant, however, who had ten crowns, they arrived at Strasburg, and without farther difficulty reached Basil. In this town resided those early Reformers, Simon Gryneus and Wolfgang Capito. With these ministers Calvin formed an intimate and permanent friendship. In close retirement, and almost unknown, he applied himself to the study of the Hebrew, the knowledge of which language had become important to enable him more effectually to advance the cause of religion.

The object of Francis, in burning those Reformers at Paris, was to conciliate Paul III., and detach him from the interest of Charles V., against whom he was at this time determined to declare war. No less intrigue was used in the labours of du Bellay, who was sent ambassadour into Germany, to appease the indignation of the Protestants, which the cruelty of Francis had excited against him. The courtly art and eloquence of this minister were exerted to persuade them, that the king had only burnt some Anabaptists, who had substituted their own inspirations for the word of God, and who abusively trampled on the laws, and excited insurrection against the magistracy. This pretext it was expected would be a sufficient defence, as that sect had rendered themselves extremely odious by their excesses to the sober and pious in Germany. This representation was therefore made by Francis, to divert the resentment of the Protestants from himself, and to cherish their jealousy against his imperial rival. Calvin well understood the hypocritical proceedings of the King, and the flagrant insult which was thus offered to the memory of the Reformers who were burnt at Paris. Constrained by an imperious sense of duty, to make known to the Protestant princes, that the Reformers of France were evangelical in their doctrines, and pure in their purposes, Calvin published at Basil,* THE INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. The preface addressed to Francis I. is a masterly production, unrivalled for force of argument, classick purity, and persuasive eloquence.

The management of Bellay, and "the wicked and false pamphlets" which were dispersed among the Germans, instead of abating, increased their resentment against Francis, as they became informed of the true state of the case. The Elector of Saxony, and the other confederate princes, not only refused him their assistance, but aided the Emperour who had, from motives of policy, refrained from using any violence against the dissemination of their doctrines. From the same cause they prevented Melancthon from visiting the French Court, although he discovered a strong inclination to comply with the plausible but deceptive invitation of the King.

Clement Marot, a poet of considerable distinction,† being represented by the Papists as one of those who prepared and affixed the placards to the door of the palace, was brought into discredit with Francis. Finding that they had seized his books, and were in pursuit of his person, he left Blois, and sought protection at Bearn, under his former patroness, the Queen of Navarre. Marot, still apprehensive of danger from the virulence of his enemies, retired into Italy to the court of the Princess of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara.* This Princess was daughter of Lewis XII. and cousin to the amiable Margaret de Valois. She had imbibed the principles of the Reformers, and was eminently distinguished for her virtue, learning and uniform piety. The reputation of Renée excited the attention of Calvin, and after the publication of his Institutes, he went into Italy to visit this illustrious woman. She received him with kindness, and listened to his instructions, by which he confirmed her more strongly in the true doctrines of the gospel. She continued for thirty years, till the close of life,† to be a nursing mother to the reformed Church. The exalted opinion which she formed of Calvin was testified by the respect uniformly shown him in her letters while he lived; and after his decease, she gave proof of her grateful attachment to his memory. The Duke of Ferrara was a Papist, and circumstances made it expedient for the Duchess to be reserved on those doctrines, which she faithfully cherished in her heart. Calvin spent but a short time in Italy, and returned to France, to settle his pecuniary concerns at Noyon. To avoid the prevailing persecution, he resolved to retire, with his only surviving brother, *Anthony Calvin*, and establish his residence at Basil or Strasburg, that he might pursue his studies in quiet seclusion.

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* See Letters No. 1.—Most editions now have the date August 1, 1536. Mr. Bayle, who examined the subject, is decidedly of opinion that the first edition was at Basil, August 1, 1535. Calvin's own statement accords with this date. And it appears that the custom of book-sellers was, to put the date of the next year to a work printed off toward the end of August.——Bayle, Art. Flacius. Dupin says, that the first edition was printed at Basil, 1535.——Eccl. Hist. 16th Cent. p. 182.

† See Notes and Biog. No. 8.

The Emperour, instead of waiting for Francis to commence the war which he had threatened, marched his troops into France in May, 1536. The direct road leading from France to Strasburg was by this means obstructed. Calvin with his brother changed their route, and passed through the borders of Savoy, and, by the guiding hand of Providence, came to Geneva.

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* The placards were posted on the door of the palace in November, 1534.—The procession, mass, and burning of the eight Reformers, was in January, 1535. About this time Marot went to Ferrara.——Bayle.

† See Notes and Biog. No. 9.

Geneva, though formerly an imperial city, had for some years been under the immediate government of the Bishop, who had the title of Prince of the town and adjacent country. The Dukes of Savoy had long contended with the Bishop of Geneva for the government of that city. The form of its internal constitution was purely republican. The people annually elected four Syndicks, twenty-five Senators, and a Council of two hundred, for the management of their publick affairs. The citizens, who were attached to the popular form of their government, had always been firm in their opposition to those who supported the episcopal or ducal prerogatives.

In 1532, William Farel visited Geneva, and preached the reformed doctrines with considerable success. But, in consequence of the powerful opposition of the Grand Vicar and the Popish party, he was obliged to retire. The instructions however of Farel inspired the friends of the popular government with a bolder spirit of enterprise, and a warmer zeal for the defence of their civil rights. The Duke and the Bishop, being from prejudice and political interest alike violent in their opposition to the Reformation, induced of course all the friends of the pure doctrines to unite with those who were ardent in defending their elective privileges. Their love of liberty and zeal for their religion, strengthened by every selfish passion, gave fresh vigour to their efforts, and in their successive contests they made substantial advances to their object.—The Duke and the Bishop dropped their contending claims, and from policy united their strength against the common enemy. In 1534, the Duke attacked them as rebels, by surprise. The Bishop, at the same time, to divest them of the rights of humanity, excommunicated them for apostacy and sacrilege. They despised the censures of the latter, and boldly defended themselves against the inhuman attack of the former. The Bishop, after having excited the hatred of the Duke of Savoy by his weakness and duplicity, and the indignation of the citizens by his vices and Papal censures, made a precipitate retreat from Geneva. The zealous and decided Farel was immediately invited to return; and together with the amiable Viret commenced, with more effect, his evangelical labours. The Genevese, in these successful struggles, were assisted by the Canton of Bern; and Francis I., who supported or destroyed the Reformers, as his political interest dictated, sent them secret supplies. They defeated the Duke of Savoy, extended their authority over the neighbouring castles, and eventually established their independence on the republican basis. This free and independent city progressed, under the benign influence of the reformed doctrines, to a degree of consideration, wealth and influence, which was for a long period of momentous import to the civil and religious concerns of Europe.*

Flushed with victory, and animated with the pleasing expectations of independence and liberty, the citizens of Geneva yielded with unqualified promptness to the counsels of Farel and Viret. In 1535, in a full assembly of the people, they obtained the abolition of the Papal authority, and the adoption of the doctrines and worship of the reformed Churches. Many however consented to a change in their religious forms, from interest or necessity, who were still, through ignorance and habit, strongly attached to the superstitions of Popery. The Popish corruptions and prejudices, the materials for subsequent tumults and factions, were at this time rather checked than destroyed. A revolution in government and religion, effected so suddenly, could not at once be followed, under any new structure which might be raised, with stability and order.

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* Dupin Eccl. Hist. 16 Cent. p. 179. Robert. Ch. V. Vol. 3, p. 117.—Rees' Cyclopæd. Art. Geneva.

Such was the state of things at Geneva when Calvin and his brother arrived to refresh themselves and lodge for a single night. An acquaintance of his immediately made him known to Farel. This bold and zealous Reformer, feeling deeply interested in the success of the cause at Geneva, used every persuasive method to retain him. Farel, finding however that Calvin's object was to devote himself to private and retired studies, and that he prevailed nothing by entreaty to divert him from this determined purpose, said in the strong language of imprecation, *I declare to you, in the name of Almighty God, if under the pretext of love to your studies, you refuse to unite your labours with ours in the work of the Lord, the Lord will curse you in your retirement, as seeking your own will and not his.*—Awed by this denunciation, Calvin gave over the prosecution of his journey to Strasburg, *and yielded to the will of the Presbytery and of the Magistrates. By their suffrages, with the concurrence of the people, he was not only chosen Preacher (which he at* first *refused); but was also elected Professor of sacred literature, which he accepted, in the month of August,* 1536.* Calvin, being conscious of his bashfulness and timidity declined at first to pledge himself to perform the duties of the ministerial office.† In his letter to *Sadolet*, he says—*Doctoris primum, deinde Pastoris munere in Ecclesia illa functus sum.—Quod eam provinciam suscepi, legitimæ fuisse vocationis jure meo contendo.—I discharged first the office of Professor, and afterwards that of Pastor in that Church.—I contend that I accepted of that charge having the authority of a lawful vocation.*‡

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* A literal translation from Beza. † See Letters No. 1 and 3.

‡ Opuscula Calvini p. 105. Responsio ad Sadoletum. See Notes and Biog. No. 9.

About this time the Genevese formed an alliance with the city of Bern, which afforded them a mutual support against their enemies. The city of Lausanne, also, after a publick disputation, between the Papists and the Reformers, at which Calvin was present, acceded to the worship and doctrine of the Reformed Churches.

The first object of Calvin's attention at Geneva was to publish a Formula of doctrines, and a short Catechism distributed into questions and answers, adapted to the state of the Genevese Church, on its first emerging from the delusions of Popery.

Calvin, at this time, entered with Farel and Coraud on the duties of his pastoral office, and directed all his efforts to advance the purity of the Church. *Some of his colleagues** avoided the tumults of the opposition from fear; while others increased his anxiety by secretly countenancing the factious. Farel and Coraud, who were among the first Reformers in France, were determined in their labours, and resolutely gave him all possible assistance to prepare the minds of the people to abjure the Papal authority, and to take an oath of adherence to some specified articles of doctrine and discipline. It can excite no surprise, that a people scarcely emancipated from Popish superstitions, whose habits had been formed under their licentious influence, should furnish many individuals who would strenuously oppose the most wholesome restraints of religion. Notwithstanding the opposition of those colleagues, who had acted in that Church under the Popish polity, on the 26th of July, 1537, the Senate and citizens of

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* These colleagues appear to have been men who had been either Priests before the Genevese abjured the Papal forms, or persons educated in the loose habits of that corrupt Church. But they could not have been colleagues of Calvin, as Beza calls them, unless he had himself *been ordained.* Calvin, it seems, held the office of Minister in the first Church of Geneva. All the Churches in that territory were collegiate Churches.

Geneva, preceded by the Recorder, entered the council-house, and publickly took the oath of adherence to the proposed articles of doctrine, and rules of discipline.

During the period in which Calvin, with Farel and Coraud, were preparing the Formula of worship, the Anabaptists, amidst the dissensions which prevailed, took occasion to increase the difficulties, by attempting to propagate their principles. These being destructive of all religious order and civil coercion, were of course adapted to captivate the disaffected and unruly. Those among the Genevese who were the secret adherents of Popery, although opposed to the strange notions of that new sect, were still however united with them in opposing the establishment of the pure doctrines and discipline in that Church. Observing those operations, Calvin and his faithful colleagues requested to hold a publick disputation with the Anabaptists, concerning their opinions. On the 18th of March, 1537, the dispute was held in a full assembly of the people. The Anabaptists were so completely confuted by the testimony of the scriptures, that they left Geneva which was rarely visited afterwards by any of that obtrusive sect.

At the same time, a certain Peter Caroli, who had been expelled from the school of the Sorbonne at Paris, came to Geneva. He assumed the pompous title of a Bishop, pursued by the inquisition of Paris for having advocated the true doctrines. His poverty and imposture being detected and exposed, he was refused the ministerial fellowship which at first Calvin and his colleagues were disposed to grant him. Enraged at this repulse, he became the easy tool of the factious. Relying on the clandestine assistance of some of the principal leaders of the disaffected, he obtruded himself upon a business which a judicious mind would have discovered must ultimately terminate in defeat and disgrace. The following extract of Calvin's letter to Gryneus, Minister at Basil, will furnish a sufficient statement of the conduct of Caroli in his accusations against Calvin, Farel and Viret, and its issue in the Synod at Lausanne :—

"CALVIN TO GRYNEUS.

——————"When we heard ourselves impeached by Caroli of the heresy of Arius, and then of that of Sabellius, it did not much disturb us, as our ears had become seasoned to such calumnies, and we entertained the confident expectation, that it would presently vanish into smoke. By openly denying the charges, we did all that was immediately in our power. This was abundantly sufficient to satisfy all persons of religion and integrity. Our Catechism was written a little before this time, and published in French. In this we testified, that—*The* FATHER, SON *and* SPIRIT, *were embraced in the* ONE ESSENCE *of* GOD; and we so distinguished one from the other, as to leave no room for perverse suspicions. We taught, for instance, that CHRIST *was the true and natural* SON *of* GOD, *who had possessed one* DIVINITY *with the* FATHER *from eternity; that, in the appointed time,* HE *had taken our flesh for our redemption.*—But when this outrageous man still persisted, we requested that a convention of Ministers should be granted us, from the whole Canton of Bern, that we might before them defend our innocence. The brethren of the French language were first assembled at Lausanne, and with them were also sent two Senators and two Ministers of Bern. Equipped to support the accusation with the precaution of a Lawyer, Caroli came with his satchel of papers. In our refutation, we so exhausted his whole bundle of evidence, that there was not the least suspicion remaining on the minds of the Council, who judged our confession to be most pious and holy.—We were acquitted by the decision of the Synod, not only from errour, but from all suspicion. Caroli was condemned as an infamous calumniator.*

"Yours, &c."

This mischievous sophist had the hardihood to continue his accusations, on the ground that he had other and higher evidence to convict those Ministers of heresy. A second trial was holden before the Synod at Bern. The result was equally unfavourable to Caroli. This sycophant was afterwards, by a decree of the Senate of Geneva, expelled from their territory. Restless and dissatisfied with himself, and envious at the distinction of others, Caroli alternately changed from the Papists to the Reformers, courting the one by calumniating the other, till he fell into merited disgrace with both. After unsuccessfully courting the favour of the Papists at Metz, by opposing the preaching of Farel in that city, he addressed a letter to Calvin. In this he attempted to exculpate himself, and implored his assistance to provide him with the charge of some Church, which might supply him with the means of subsistence. To his letter Calvin returned a faithful and affectionate answer,† assuring him of his assistance, when that penitency and humility should be manifested which the aggravated nature of his offences demanded. Favour on these terms was in vain extended to this irritable man, who had become familiar with falsehood and other vices. Reduced at length to a wretched and destitute condition, and labouring under a loathsome disease, he was, after much difficulty, received by the Papists into an hospital, where he ended his days in a manner correspondent to the wicked course of his life.

The anxiety of Calvin was excited, toward the close of this year, at the conduct of many persons in France, who received the true doctrines, but to avoid persecution, or secure emoluments, publickly adhered to the Popish service. Prompt in his attention to whatever might promote or retard the progress of the Reformation, he wrote on that subject two elegant epistles.* The first on the duty of avoiding the unlawful superstitions of the Romish Church, and of openly professing Christ, he addressed to Nicholas Ceminus, his intimate friend when at the University of Orleans. Ceminus, having received the appointment of a civil office in the Province of la Maine, requested the advice of Calvin, on the following question: How far one might innocently appear as a Papist, in accommodating himself to their forms, while he cherished in private the principles of the true religion? In the answer of Calvin, the strong feelings of personal friendship, and the predominant love of that Saviour, who demands, in his service, the whole heart, are interwoven with an interest of affection, and an energy of argument, which bear the soul along on the slow but increasing current of conviction, till it insensibly rises into that animated apprehension of unseen things, before which the favour or displeasure of the world dwindles into all its transient littleness.

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* In Epistolis Calvini, p. 227—et Epistolis Farelli ad Calvinum, p. 34.

† See Letters, No. 4.

The other epistle Calvin dedicated to Gerard Roussel, who, after his imprisonment at Paris in 1533, was retained at Nerac by the Queen as her domestick Minister. By her favour, he was first made Abbot of Clerac, and afterwards Bishop of Oleron. Calvin addresses his old friend, with a familiarity of reproof which testifies his grief at the step Roussel had taken to cover himself from persecution. Enlarging on the pleasing expectations which he might entertain of security in his worldly promotion, he proceeds to exhibit the nature of the office, and the absolute duties of a Bishop of Jesus Christ. He draws a contrast between them and the rites and superstitions of the Romish Church, which Roussel had pledged himself to perform, by accepting and holding his office visibly in that communion. He presses the enquiry, with a force not easily evaded, Whether an honest man can perform those stipulated services, which he had enumerated as unscriptural? He calls Roussel before the judgment seat of Christ, to answer the enquiry; and concludes by urging him, with a zealous and eloquent earnestness for the cause of Christ, either openly and promptly to fulfil the duties of the episcopal office, as limited and commanded by the word of God, or to leave his standing and emoluments in that polluted Church, for rewards more durable than the dignitaries of this world can bestow. In the conclusion of this letter, the reasoning of Calvin corresponded with his own example. He urges the point of duty, as at that time of peculiar moment to be clearly understood among the friends of the true doctrines, who were surrounded by many dangers and temptations; and insists that all persons loving the truth as it is in Jesus, ought to withdraw from the idolatrous communion, the usurped authority, and profligate priesthood of that Church.

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* In Opusculis Calvini, pp. 409—423. These two epistles were translated into German by Leo Judah, a Minister of Zurich, and published in 1539. ——Judah's letter to Calvin, among his Epistles, p. 12.

The changes produced in many families and estates of the Genevese, by their late war with the Duke of Savoy, which terminated in their independence, laid the foundation for subsequent contests. From this cause, and the corrupt habits of the people, animosities successively arose, and numerous hindrances were thrown in the way to obstruct the progress of Church order and discipline. Calvin, Farel and Coraud, harmonizing in their opinions, pursued the mild course of instruction, and of expostulations with the refractory, to bring the people by degrees to conform to the doctrines and discipline which they had adopted. Their most faithful exertions, however, proved unavailing. The passions of those, whose flagrant vices they had reproved, were kindled into the bitterest resentment against them. The evils were daily accumulating, by the factions into which the city was divided, till, confiding in the strength of their numbers, many openly refused to submit to those rules of discipline which they had sworn to support and obey. Those Ministers were conscious, that if they relinquished the restraints of discipline, and their restrictive admonitions against the vices of the profligate, they should eventually defeat all the purposes of the Church of Christ. They judged it expedient, therefore, to take a determined stand in what they conceived to be their official duty, and abide the consequences. They publickly refused to dispense the Lord's Supper to those persons who rejected the rules of discipline, and who were labouring to open the same easy and licentious access to the Eucharist as that in which they were indulged by the Popish Church. These fermentations were accelerated by the differences which had arisen between the Church of Geneva and that of Bern, with respect to some of their ceremonies. The Genevese, before Calvin settled with them, had introduced the use of leavened bread at the Lord's Supper, removed the Popish baptismal fonts, and abolished all the festivals of the Romish Church, observing the Lord's day only as holy time.* A Synod held at Lausanne had ordered that the fonts, with the festivals and the unleavened bread, should be restored. But as the Ministers of Geneva had not been called to that Synod, they demanded the privilege of being heard. Upon this it was agreed that these differences should be referred to the decision of a Council to be holden at Zurich. This controversy about the ceremonials of religion furnished an occasion for those disaffected

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* Calvin, in his letter to the Ministers of Bern, says, Before I came first to this city, all the Popish festivals had been abolished. This had been thought proper by Farel and Viret, and I willingly acquiesced in the received custom.

Syndicks, who had aided Caroli in his proceedings, to make more effectual exertions to displace those Ministers. In the alternative of submitting to ecclesiastical censures, or ejecting those faithful Pastors, they had no hesitancy in making their election. They convened an assembly of the people, in which the greater part overpowered the better, and without granting the request of those Pastors to be heard, they obtained an order, *That Farel, Calvin and Coraud should leave the city within two days.* When this sentence was announced to Calvin, conscious of his integrity, and confident of the approbation of his divine Master, he said, *Had I been in the service of men, this would have been a poor reward; but it is well.—I have served* HIM, *who never fails to repay his servants whatever he has promised.*

In obedience to the order of the people, Farel, Calvin and Coraud,* amidst the lamentations of their whole flock, retired from Geneva. They proceeded directly to Zurich, to attend, according to appointment, the Synod of the Swiss Churches. This Council, by a formal decree, requested the Church of Bern to interpose their influence with the Genevese for the recall of those exiled Ministers. Their efforts were however unavailing.

Man is often impatient to effect, at once, the objects which he regards as desirable; but God fulfils his counsels by a progress and order comprehended only by himself: With him, delay is accomplishment. Geneva was still destined of God, to be the place for the immense labours and extensive influence of Calvin, in promoting the cause of the Reformation. By passing into exile his faith was tried, his experience enlarged, his acquaintance with other Churches and divines extended, and his subsequent authority and usefulness vastly promoted.

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* See Letters, No. 5. Coraud's death.

By his ejectment Calvin was freed from the obligations of his ministerial calling. He spent a short time at Basil, and then retired to Strasburg, where he determined to repose himself in retirement, and devote his whole attention to his favourite studies. The Church in this city was illuminated by those distinguished men, Bucer, Capito, Hedio, Niger, and Sturmius.* Calvin had not long enjoyed his retirement, before the influence of Bucer and his associates procured his election to the Professorship of Theology in the College of Strasburg. His learning, his talents and application enabled him to discharge the duties of this office with unrivalled applause. He had an unwavering testimony of the publick approbation, in the increasing number of students, who were attracted to that seminary by his reputation. At the request of his friends, he at length resumed his ministerial duties, and, with the approbation of the Senate, gathered a *French Church;* and established the same order of worship and discipline, which he had introduced into that of Geneva.

The factious Syndicks, having obtained the subversion of that ecclesiastical order and discipline, which they opposed as too rigid and severe, proceeded to introduce unleavened bread, to the exclusion of the common bread, which had been used at the Lord's Supper by Farel and Viret, since the adoption of the reformed doctrines in that Church. This occasioned new dissensions among the members. Anxious to prevent divisions, and to keep the sound members in that Church from separation, Calvin addressed a letter to those who were offended at the change.† He admonished them, among other things, not to abstain from the Eucharist, to use moderation, and accommodate themselves to those designing innovators, lest they should excite a serious contention about things in themselves indifferent. Ready to contend even to death, in defence of essential doctrines, Calvin well knew how to exercise moderation, about such matters as the use of leavened or unleavened bread at the Lord's Supper.

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* John Sturmius, Rector of the school, is to be distinguished from James, the Senator and Syndick of Strasburg.

† See Letters, No. 6.

The Genevese Church were, at this time, divided among themselves, and destitute of learned and influential Pastors. In this situation, they were exposed, as an object of prey, to the Papists, who were vigilant and active to seize the opportunity to bring them back to the Romish Church. James Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, a city of Dauphiny, and on the borders of Savoy, had been created a Cardinal in his advanced years, for the special purpose of increasing his exertions and influence in repressing the progress of the reformed doctrines. Distinguished for his talents, eloquence and correct morals, he well understood how to time and temper his exertions for the most effectual accomplishment of his purpose. He addressed a letter to the Senate, Council and people of Geneva, under the meek appellation of *Beloved Brethren.** With a richness of style, mildness of manner, and prudence of argument, adapted to soften their prejudices, he endeavoured to fix their attention on those points, about which they most directly agreed; and affectionately entreated them to return within the pale of the mother Church. On perusing this impressive letter, at Strasburg, Calvin perceived the evils it might occasion to the Genevese Church, from that smooth, deceptive reasoning, which was artfully pursued to fascinate the ignorant and undisciplined mind.

The answer which Calvin addressed to Sadolet reversed both the manner and matter of the Cardinal's argument. Open, distinct and dignified, it placed before the people of

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* Sadolet's Letter, in Opus. Cal. April 7, 1539.—The answer of Calvin is dated September 1, 1539.

Geneva the precise points of the controversy; unmasked the pollutions of Popery; fixed their attention on the essential terms of acceptance with God at the day of Judgment, and with an eloquence of argument so appropriate, as placed the object of the Cardinal's pursuit effectually beyond his reach.

During this year, Calvin published a revised edition of his *Institutes*;—his Commentary *on the Epistle to the Romans*, which he dedicated to his friend Simon Gryneus;—and a small work on *the Lord's Supper*,* by which he designed to allay the severe controversies on the subject, which were in agitation between the adherents of *Zuinglius* and *Luther*.

Among those whom Calvin had been successful in reclaiming from the Anabaptists, two were persons of some distinction. *Paul Volse*, to whom Erasmus dedicated his *Enchiridium Militis Christiani*, and who was afterwards a Pastor in the Church of Strasburg; and *John Storder*, of Liege, whose widow, *Ideletta*, de Bure, Calvin married, by the advice of Bucer, in the year 1540. In a letter to Farel Calvin writes thus:—"Concerning my marriage, I now speak more openly—you know very well what qualifications, I always expected in a wife. I am not of that passionate race of lovers, who, when once captivated with the external form, embrace also, with eagerness, the moral defects it may cover. The person who would delight me with her beauty, must be chaste, frugal, patient, and afford me some hope, that she will be solicitous for my personal health and prosperity.——Strasburg, May 29, 1539."

The only child of Calvin was a son, who died in 1545. Calvin, at the close of a letter to Viret, dated August 19, of that year, says, *The Lord has certainly inflicted a heavy and severe wound on us, by the death of our little son; but he is our Father and knows what is expedient for his children.*

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* In Opusculis Calvini.

In the spring of 1539, Calvin, with Simon Gryneus, was appointed, by the Churches of Strasburg, to attend the imperial Synod at Frankfort.* He also attended, with Bucer and John Sturmius, at the Diet of Worms in 1540, and the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541. In his letters to Farel, he gave an interesting detail of the transactions of those conventions, and designated the characters of the most distinguished persons who attended them.† Calvin interested himself in favour of the persecuted brethren in France, and eventually succeeded in procuring an address to the King, from the States and Princes of Germany, for the relief of the persecuted Churches in that country. At this time commenced his acquaintance with *Philip Melancthon*, which opened the way for an interesting correspondence, and a friendship terminating only with the death of the latter. Melancthon, on his acquaintance with Calvin, distinguished him by the appellation of *the Theologian*. At this time also, Gaspar Cruciger, subsequently Rector of the Academy of Wittemburg, had an interview with Calvin on the nature of the Lord's Supper, and declared his approbation of his opinion.

The Syndicks, who effected the expulsion of Farel, Calvin and Coraud, pursued a course of licentiousness, which, under the influence of their habits of moral stupidity, rapidly drew upon them the vindictive consequences of their crimes. This life is not indeed a state of retribution, but events are sometimes indelibly marked by the hand of a remunerating Providence. One of those Syndicks was accused and found guilty of sedition. In attempting to escape from the officer, he precipitated himself through a window; and, being very corpulent, bruised his body to such a degree, that he languished a few days and died. Another was found guilty of murder, and publickly executed. The other two, for their misconduct while on an embassy from Geneva, were forbidden to return, and condemned to perpetual exile.

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* Seckendorf, vol. 2, p. 205.

† See Letters, No. 7 to 23, for Calvin's account of the Diets of Germany, and his recall and return to Geneva.

The current of two years had materially changed the face of things at Geneva. In 1541, the people, in a publick assembly, manifested their desire for the return of Calvin;* and an embassy was sent to Strasburg to solicit his release from the French Church in that city. He was then at the Diet of Worms; they proceeded therefore to that place. He however wholly declined their proposals. Bucer and his colleagues protested against his leaving the Divinity Chair, and his Church at Strasburg.

At this time the Emperour, for political purposes, dissolved the Assembly at Worms, and ordered a Diet to be holden at Ratisbon in March, 1541. Melancthon, having become strongly attached to Calvin, insisted that he should relinquish his determination of returning home, and proceed with Bucer directly for Ratisbon. It was ultimately agreed, that Calvin should visit Geneva, examine the state of the Church, and determine what the cause of religion required as to his return to that city. It was proposed to the Genevese agents, that they should request Viret to leave his Church at Lausanne, and spend a few months with them till the Diet should be closed. The Genevese persevered in their labours to procure the return of Calvin, and eventually succeeded, through the interposition of Bullinger and the Church of Zurich, who addressed the subsequent very interesting letter to Calvin on that occasion:—

"THE PROFESSORS AND PASTORS OF THE CHURCH OF ZURICH, TO CALVIN, THEIR RESPECTED BROTHER IN CHRIST.

(The first part of the letter abridged.)

"We have always written to you, dear and respected brother, with the greatest pleasure; but on no occasion have we addressed you with more exalted satisfaction, than the present, in which we magnify our office as the friends of the glory of God and the church of Christ. We are persuaded that the love and power of Christ bind you to us in the strictest bonds of friendship, and we feel a confidence that we shall obtain the object which we request.

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* See Letters, No. 12 and 13.

"The futile result of the arts and hypocrisy of Satan, in procuring your ejection from the city and Church of Geneva, we need not detail; nor the dignified manner in which you were received at Strasburg, where you found favour in the eyes of the Lord. For your former enemies, disappointed as to the disgrace which they predicted would follow you in your exile, now come, with the strongest vows of sincerity, and by an honourable legation bringing the highest testimonies of your faith, diligence and innocence, to beseech your return to that city, and to your former pastoral office in that Church. This change in the state of the Church of Geneva brings unusual joy to us and all the pious. And that you are recalled to that Church, we doubt not, will awaken in your soul sentiments of peculiar joy; and now by this letter we entreat you, and we trust our entreaties will have some weight, not to neglect or despise this vocation of God. We are not ignorant what obstacles the flesh may oppose, nor what difficulties may deter you from this undertaking. You may indeed say—'What! shall I return to those who, base, inconstant and vain, exiled me without cause?' and many other such like things. But to these suggestions, whether true or false, it is the duty of a soldier of Christ to stop his ears, while he opens them with readiness to the call of God.—The causes which now detain you at Strasburg are not such, as were you to leave that Church would produce any commotion; for that Church is distinguished above others for men of the most exalted piety and learning.—But the Church of Geneva, at this time, has no learned Minister but Viret alone, on whose shoulders the whole weight of the pastoral office now presses with all its force, and Viret must, in a short time, return to his own flock, as his own Church at Lausanne is in great danger while destitute of its Pastor. If our eternal Pastor left the ninety and nine, and sought in its wanderings the lost sheep, what shall not he do, whose sheep of their own accord demand their Pastor, and pursue him retiring from them with such ardent zeal? Christ willingly offers his grace to his unworthy and wilful despisers; and it becomes us in all our actions to follow his example. With what mind, with what spirit, or even conscience, can you desert and fly from those, who come earnestly to you, and seek you alone for their Pastor?—It was by your labours, and by your ministry, that the Church of Geneva was renewed in Christ. Will you therefore, can you disregard and reject the earnest cries of your children for their own parent? Will you suffer so many lambs to be exposed as a prey, for whom Christ poured forth his blood? That they are exposed as a prey, is evident, since the eloquent Sadolet, with wonderful address and artful intrigue, attempted to break into the Church of Geneva. And encouraged by the hope of spoil, in a Church destitute of its pastoral defence, he will, with more intense eagerness, pursue the object, which he has ventured to attack.—We should never account that difficult which God commands, nor grieve at the vocation of the Lord; for he who is able will give us strength, and wisdom, and patience. His faithfulness will not fail, in removing those obstacles which, in the judgment of the flesh, lie in our path. The Lord was never wanting to those who called upon him in truth. Since then so many Churches entreat you to enter on this office, you should do it the more confidently. But moreover, as to the great advantages of your holding that station, we need not say much. You will deliver many sheep from the jaws of the wolves, and will bind upon your head an unfading crown before God. You know that Geneva, being on the confines of France, Italy and Germany, affords the strongest expectations that the Gospel may be disseminated through the neighbouring cities, and the bounds of the kingdom of Christ enlarged. You know that the Apostle chose the chief cities, in which to preach the Gospel, that he might more easily cause its streams to flow through all their borders. You must be well aware, how extensively you may spread from that city the Gospel of Christ, by your preaching and your writings. These, dear Calvin, are the things, which induce us to ask you, to entreat you, to conjure you, not to reject this vocation, which we believe is of the Lord, but to follow it instantly and without delay. We doubt not your fidelity and good will to run with readiness in the way of duty, though we thus press you with some stimulating motives, that you may make the greater speed. We hope that our prayers and entreaties will avail with you. You know how much we love you, how much we would do for your sake and at your request. We regard and respect you on account of the eminent gifts with which God has been pleased to adorn you. But both yours and his, studious for your reputation, and the warmest friends of the Churches and of truth, we beseech you, our brother and friend, and conjure you through Christ, neither to resist or despise our request, as we hope we are influenced by the Spirit of God and the highest regard for his glory. Farewell, our ever revered brother, and pray to God for us.

"ZURICH, April 4, 1541."

Bucer and his colleagues also gave their opinion in favour of Calvin's return to Geneva, at least for some stipulated time. He however reluctantly yielded, and on this subject says, in the preface to his Commentary on the Psalms, "Although the prosperity of this Church was of such high concern that I would willingly have undergone death for it, yet my timidity suggested a great variety of reasons why I should not afresh subject my shoulders to a burden so oppressive.—At last, the obligation and responsibility of my office determined me to restore myself to the flock, from which I had been so violently separated; but with what deep sorrow, abundant tears, and extreme anxiety I did this, the best of beings is my witness."—Calvin, pressed by the advice of all his friends, retired from the Diet of Ratisbon, and arrived at Geneva September 13, 1541. He was received with the gratulations of the whole people, while the Senate made their publick acknowledgment to God for so signal a favour.

The Genevese now requested the Senate of Strasburg to cancel the clause of the agreement which limited the continuance of Calvin with them, to a specified time. This was yielded at length, on condition that he should retain the honours conferred on him by that city, and his annual salary. He consented to retain the first, but the pecuniary emolument he could never be prevailed on to accept. Calvin had made it a condition of his return, that Farel should be recalled at the same time. The people of Geneva complied on their part, but no inducement could prevail on Farel to leave Neufchatel, to trust himself again on the restless waters of that city.* On resuming his former charge, Calvin fixed himself stedfastly on the direction of his Lord, —*Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you.* As an object of faith and ground of hope, this passage of scripture furnished him with divine support through his unremitting labours and unparalleled trials, in promoting the purity and prosperity of the Church.

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* See Letters, No. 20, 21, 22.

Calvin well understood that the period of renewed confidence must be improved to introduce a system of doctrine and discipline, which would be a standard of faith and government. He explained to the Senate what he judged would be expedient for their welfare in the Church. Agreeable to his request, the Senate appointed six of their body, who, with Calvin, Viret and the *three colleagues*, matured, with cautious deliberation, the articles of ecclesiastical polity. By these articles, the power of excommunication, together with the subordinate rights of discipline, was committed to the Church. It was of course violently opposed by those persons, whose habits and crimes rendered them obnoxious to its coercive authority. Some of the common people, and a number of the influential citizens, who had put off the Popish forms, and assumed merely the name of Christ, by degrees went over to the opposition. The *three colleagues,** who still remained in that Church since the exile of Calvin, Farel and Coraud, although they had bound themselves to abide by whatever Calvin and Viret should judge expedient, now began privately to oppose the adoption of the articles. These Pastors were too much exposed to discipline, by their own irregularities, to be advocates for the establishment of restrictive laws. The opposers covered themselves with the pretext, that other Churches had not the right of excommunication; that this was the right of the Senate; and if the authority was given into the hands of the Church, it would terminate in Papistical tyranny. Convinced that the articles were according to the word of God, and that they were indispensable for the government and purity of the Church, Calvin proceeded, with moderation and firmness, to prove from the scriptures, that the power of excommunication was in the Church; and that it was inconsistent to lodge with a civil body the exclusive right of doing an act purely ecclesiastical. To weaken the force of the objection, that other Churches did not exercise this power, he adduced the testimony of the most learned Reformers, of Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Melancthon, Bucer, Capito, Zuichius, Myconius, and others. In his argument he passed no censure on those Churches which had not adopted rules for exercising their own rights, and cast no blame on those Pastors who judged that the members of their Churches needed no such ecclesiastical restraints. He enforced, with much clearness, the vast difference between the unscriptural impositions of the Papacy, and a legitimate Presbytery. Calvin succeeded in his purpose. On the 20th of November, 1541, the revised laws of ecclesiastical polity in that Church were established by the unanimous vote of the Senate, and the consent of the people.

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* See Letters, No. 20.

The course of labours on which Calvin entered, and the daily duties which he discharged as Professor and Pastor, are truly astonishing, and such and so numerous as no ordinary mind could have effected. Every official duty was located with the most exact order. He preached every day of every other week—on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, he gave lectures in Theology—on Thursday, he presided in the meeting of the Presbytery—on Friday, he expounded the holy scriptures to the congregation. In addition to these and other official duties, he devoted the remnants of his time to study and writing. Unremitting in his labours, he illustrated the holy scriptures by his commentaries; answered, as occasions called, the opposers of religion; and wrote on the most abstruse subjects with profoundness and caution. In fine, he turned his attention and his pen to whatever concerned the order, the purity and peace of the Church.

The instruction of youth was, in the estimation of Calvin, an object of primary interest to the welfare of civil society, and the cause of religion. He therefore revised and enlarged the Catechism, which he first published in 1537. This judicious and popular work was composed after the order of his Institutes, embracing doctrines, duties and the means of grace. He published it in French and in Latin. It was noticed with unparalleled applause, and soon translated into the German, English, Dutch, Scotch, and Spanish languages; into the Greek by Henry Stephens, and finally into the Hebrew by the learned Christian Jew, Emanuel Tremellius. And the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in 1643, made it the model of the Catechism which is so justly esteemed among all the Presbyterian Churches.*

While Calvin was cautiously occupied in the concerns of his own Church, his labours were unremitted in administering relief and consolation to the brethren who were driven from France and Italy, by the persecution of the Papists. His reputation as a Divine and Professor of Theology, attracted such numbers from Italy, England, and even Spain, that it was with difficulty that they were furnished with lodgings in Geneva. He was ever anxiously mindful of those in France, who were suffering imprisonment, chains and death, and when he could afford them no other means of relief, he addressed to them letters of encouragement and comfort.

This year a scarcity of provisions, and its usual companion, the plague, prevailed in Geneva. The police of the city, as their custom had been, established an infirmary without the walls, for the reception of the infected. The sedulous attention of a *comforter*† was required to give instruction to the sick, and consolation to the dying. In consequence of the dread of the contagion, three persons only offered their service to fill this dangerous post, Calvin, Castalio and Blanchet. The lot being cast, fell upon Castalio, who unfairly declined this office of humanity. The Senate being unwilling to hazard the life of Calvin, Blanchet generously assumed the perilous and honourable charge upon himself.

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* Opuscula, p. 12.

† See Notes and Biog. No. 11.

Peter Tossanus, Pastor of Montbeillard, was engaged at this time in a controversy concerning the ceremonies of that Church. At the request of the brethren, he wrote to Calvin, for his opinion on the various points of controversy.* Myconius, Pastor of Basil, experienced a severe opposition in his attempt to introduce the rules and discipline of the Consistory into that city. The opposers contended that the power of excommunication belonged to the Senate, and adduced the example of Moses and David, as holding civil offices, and at the same time controling ecclesiastical matters. Myconius, perplexed with these arguments, wrote to Calvin for his opinion. Calvin concisely refuted the objections, and vindicated the right of the Church to the exclusive authority of excommunicating its members, when incorrigible under subordinate discipline.†

The progress of the Reformation in France was countenanced, amidst the severest dangers, by many distinguished personages. The number of the reformed Churches increased beyond the most sanguine expectations of their advocates. The jealousy and rage of the Doctors of the Sorbonne were excited, and they determined to enforce against them the severest persecutions of imprisonment, banishment and fire. In pursuance of this object, those Inquisitors, headed by Peter Lisset, framed the chief points of their faith and worship into twenty-five articles, as a standard for the trial and punishment of every person who refused to subscribe them. They were presented to Francis I., who approved them March 10, 1542. Being afterwards sanctioned by the Pope, Paul III., they were published by a royal decree, enjoining all Doctors, Bachelors and Teachers to subscribe them, and not to teach any thing contrary to them on the penalty of being treated as hereticks. Some of the reformed Teachers, through weakness or fear, were induced to subscribe those Popish articles. This inflicted a deep wound on the cause of the pure doctrines. The attention of Calvin was called to this artful measure of the inquisitorial Parliament of Paris, and in answering their confession of faith, he applied to each article such solid reasoning, and sometimes such satirical pleasantry, as furnished against its errors a powerful *Antidote*.*

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* See Letters, No. 25.

† See Letters, No. 27.

The writings of Calvin, and the reputation he had established at the Diets in Germany, excited towards him the jealous attention of the Papists. The purity of his Latin, the force of his reasoning, and his facility at composition, with his extensive learning, all which he had forcibly exemplified in his publications, secured to him from his enemies a high degree of consideration. The *servitude and freedom of the will*, as maintained by Luther, Melancthon, Bucer and Calvin, was a material point in the great question, so much agitated about good works and the doctrine of justification by faith. The Papists were solicitous that some great effort should be made, to defend their side of the question, which had been laid naked by the writings of those Reformers. Albert Pighius,† subtle, learned and ambitious, offered himself as the champion of their cause. It was first proposed at the Diet of Worms, that he should enter the lists against all those Reformers; but, upon further consideration, he selected Calvin as his antagonist, considering that a victory over him would be the defeat of them all. Pighius began the combat with high expectations of securing the Pope's favour, and a Cardinal's Hat;‡ but he met in the issue with a double mortification. The Papists charged him with maintaining errors on some points against their faith, and with adopting on others the opinions* of that Reformer whom he had undertaken to refute. Calvin, in reply *concerning the servitude and freedom of the will,* proved that Pighius had copied whole pages from his *Institutes,* without the least notice to his readers of the source from which he had taken those spoils. Thus this ambitious and self-confident man incurred, at the same time, the displeasure of the Papists, and the just censure of the learned. Calvin dedicated his work *concerning the freedom of the will,* to his friend Philip Melancthon,† February, 1543.

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* This is the title of Calvin's answer. See Opuscula, p. 190.

† See Notes, No. 12.

‡ Pope Innocent IV., about the year 1250, decreed that a *Red Hat* should be the symbol of the Cardinal's office. This cognizance was so singular, that it was soon used for the office itself.

About this time originated the difference between Sebastian Castalio and Calvin. Castalio was learned in the languages, and had been patronized by Calvin, first at Strasburg, and on his return to Geneva he introduced him as the Instructor of the Grammar School in that city. Castalio published a translation of the scriptures in the French language, in which appeared much affectation of style and vulgar obscurity, together with some impure expressions. Calvin, in a private conversation, pointed out to him, with all frankness, those things which appeared to be reprehensible. Castalio was irritated at the free remarks of Calvin; and instead of correcting the faults of his translation, avowed more openly opinions, which he had before concealed, and which were offensive to Calvin, especially as he deeply wounded the authority of the scriptures, by rejecting the Song of Solomon as uninspired and obscure. Calvin was jealous of the authority and purity of the scriptures, and a stranger to all compromises with those who persevered in maintaining opinions which he viewed as false and heretical. Castalio persisted in justifying his rejection of a portion of the divine volume, which rests, like every other part, not on the reasoning or fancy of man, but on the testimony of God. He was summoned before the Senate, by the voice of the people, and, after being fully heard in his defence, was sentenced as a calumniator of the scriptures, and ordered to leave the city.

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* See Bayle, Art. Pighius.

† Opuscula Calvini, p. 117.——See Letters, No. 28.

In November, 1544, Calvin wrote an interesting letter to the Pastors of Neufchatel on the subject of discipline.* The order which should be pursued, and the disposition which is to be exercised in conducting censures among Ministers, are judiciously illustrated. As he proceeds, he lays down this proposition—*The scriptures express the substance of ecclesiastical discipline in plain words; but the form of that discipline, since it is not prescribed by the Lord, ought to be determined by the Ministers for edification.* The observation of the principle involved in this proposition, concerning the exterior order and government of the Church, would have saved her members from much injurious controversy. However differing about the colour of the vesture of Jesus, the Churches which were united in the essential doctrines, the apostacy, the atonement and Godhead of the Redeemer, the Divinity and office of the Spirit, might on that principle have given each other the right hand of fellowship, and walked together in peaceful and affectionate attachment to the transcendant cause of him who purchased the Church with his own blood.

During this year, the Emperour of Germany was providentially compelled to grant indulgence and aid to that cause, which he designed ultimately to destroy. Pressed with the burdensome expenses of his war with France, and by the success of the Turks in Hungary, he called a Diet at Spires; and to secure the assistance of the protestant Princes, he ordered, among other privileges, which he granted them, *that no person should be molested from that time on account of his re-*

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* See Letters, No. 29.

ligious principles, till a general Council should be called.[*] With this decree the Pope was of course displeased. In the heat of his resentment, he addressed a letter to Charles, reproaching him in severe terms, with assuming the rights of the Pontiff, and betraying the cause of the Church; and threatened to exert against him the power of his official vengeance. The Emperour, pressed with difficulties on every hand, gave Paul an evasive and courtly answer. In the perusal of those letters, Calvin observed the temporizing of Charles, and the arrogance of the Pope, who had, in his opinion, violated the truth of the Gospel, and reproached the innocence of the Reformers. He addressed an answer to Paul, with the firmness which would have become the Emperour, and well adapted to shame his audacity, and expose the emptiness of his threats.[†]

While the Diet at Spires was in session, which terminated so favourably to the cause of the Protestants, Calvin, with his usual vigilance, seized the opportunity of publishing, with greater effect, his work, entitled *The necessity of reforming the Church.*[‡] In this treatise, he attacked the vices of the clergy, and exposed the corruptions of the Papacy; he also defined, in a luminous manner, the true Church of Christ, and defended the cause of the Reformation, with an energy of argument, unparalleled in the writings of that distinguished age. To extend its circulation, and increase its influence, he expressly addressed it to *the Emperour, Princes and Orders assembled in Convention at Spires.*

The Anabaptists and Libertines took their rise about the same time, 1525, and from the same point of depression and ignorance. They pursued substantially the same delusive objects, perfectibility of soul, and a spirituality of devotion, which elevated them above religious order and civil restraints. Casting behind them the revealed scriptures, the Anabaptists, by their personal visions and inspirations, and the Libertines, by abstract reasonings and a union of soul with God by secluded contemplations, alike laid claim to sinless perfection. The former assumed as their guide the impulses and illapses of the Spirit, while in fact they were under the dominant influence of their own enthusiastick passions. The latter alleged, that God was the immediate author of all human actions, the efficient cause of evil as well as good, and that man was not accountable for his conduct. The Papists charged these monstrous errours over to the Reformers, who had sent abroad the scriptures among the vulgar, and broken the chains of ignorance, which they had kindly imposed upon the human intellect. Infidels alleged that all the mischief and errours of each religious denomination originated alike from the religion of the Bible. The humble believer, however, undismayed by those charges and allegations, estimates the depravity of human nature, as a root sufficiently vigourous, to yield all the enthusiasm, superstition, infidelity and misery which are produced among men. To check the growth of those errours, and to vindicate the cause of Christ and the Reformation from reproach, Calvin published, June 1, 1544, his *instructions against the errours and fanaticism of the Anabaptists and Libertines.** In his arguments against the latter, he points out, with great clearness, the nature of the divine sovereignty, its absolute exercise over man, a fallen, depraved, but still a moral and accountable being. He exposes, with a strong hand, the absolute falsity of the libertine position, that God, as the cause of all things, *is the efficient cause of evil, or author of sin.*—He rejects these assertions as blasphemous, while he maintains the scriptural doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of God. Calvin discriminated clearly the limits which bounded the human intellect on that subject, and wisely stopped short of that *duplex labyrinthus, double labyrinth*, as he calls it,* which lies beyond the light of revelation. Neither Augustine, Calvin† nor Edwards,‡ who thought and wrote much concerning the sovereignty of God, will probably ever be surpassed in intellect, in acquisitions or distinct apprehensions in the science of morals, or the doctrines of religion. They neither ventured themselves, nor have they given license to others, but have left many warning counsels to prevent even their attempts to intrude into the secret things which belong to God.§

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[*] Bower's Hist. of the Popes, vol. 7, Oct. p. 630.——Robert. Charles V.

[†] See Pope Paul III.'s Letter and Calvin's answer in Opusculis Calvini, p. 178, et 182.

[‡] Opuscula Calvini, p. 37.

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* Opuscula p. 356 et 374.

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* In argumento Genesis. Vol. 1. ejus operum.

† Passages might be multiplied, from the writings of Calvin, to show that he totally rejected the *impious dogma*—That God is the author, or the efficient cause of sin—a single passage, in which he quotes Augustine, may here be appropriate—*Men are the work of God*, says Augustine, *as they are men; but they are in subjection to the Devil, as they are sinners, until they are delivered from that state by Christ.*—"Therefore," adds Calvin, "the *good* are of God; the *wicked, a seipsis*, from themselves." Opuscula Calvini pag. 126——see also in his tracts, in p. 627—629—"Nego Deum ese mali authorem." Cal. in Acts ii. 23. "Neque tamen malorum author sit Deus." Cal. Lib. de prædestinat. *et passim.*

‡ President Edwards says—*I utterly deny God to be the author of sin; rejecting such an imputation on the Most High, as what is infinitely to be abhorred; and deny any such thing to be the consequence of what I have laid down.*—Freedom of the will, Part IV. Sec. IX. II.

§ It may be modestly suggested, whether some have not reproached the writings of Augustine, Calvin and Edwards, who still never read them, the sum total of whose knowledge of the works of these great men is picked up from mutilated scraps, selected for the sole purpose of prejudicing the minds of common readers against them; and whether others professedly, and doubtless in some instances, real friends to religion, have not been prompted, by a desire for distinction, to make the world believe, that they could see farther and clearer on those speculative points, than Calvin; and are thus plunging, with metaphysical enthusiasm, into the darkness of that *double labryrinth* which will bewilder many unweary minds into scepticism and infidelity.

The instructions of Calvin against the errours and fanaticism of the Libertines gave offence to Quintin and Poquet, the two principal leaders of that sect. These two men had imposed upon the Queen of Navarre so far as to induce her to believe, that they were honest and religious in their principles and purposes, and that they were misrepresented and injured by Calvin in that work. A letter was written, by the direction of Margaret, complaining to Calvin of his severity towards those men whom she had patronized as the friends of the pure doctrines. In his answer, Calvin addressed her with an affectionate respect for her piety and dignity, and with a frankness and freedom becoming a Minister of Christ. He opened the dangerous nature and tendency of their opinions to the cause of religion, obviated some reproaches which they had uttered against him, and entreated her to withdraw her patronage from such wicked and deceitful men. The letter of Calvin effectually obstructed their influence in the court of Navarre, and prevented their further inroads upon the Churches of France.*

During the ravages of the pestilence in Geneva and its environs, in the beginning of 1545, occurred a singular instance of human depravity. That grade of inhabitants who had become so poor by their vices, as to seek a daily subsistence in attending the sick and cleansing their chambers, formed an alliance for the horrid purpose of secretly spreading the infection. They rubbed the pestiferous matter upon the posts and doors of houses, and other frequented places. The activity of the plague, and the malignity of its ravages, were awfully increased, and the whole city was thrown into consternation. To prevent detection, and secure themselves from justice, those monsters, by a horrid oath, devoted themselves to the devil, if they should, under any tortures that might be inflicted, discover the names of any of their associates. The ligaments of such an oath, upon minds so corrupt as to take it, could have no influence. The inspired sentence, *Be sure your sin will find you out*, was ultimately verified in these men, most of whom were apprehended and sentenced to merited punishment.

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* See Letters, No. 30.

The numerous deaths by the plague, the changes of possessions and descent of estates, with the contested rights of citizenship, introduced much disorder among the inhabitants. Some indulged in the most aggravated vices, and others committed the most licentious crimes. In addition to all these evils, the demagogues of party seized upon the goods of the Popish Bishoprick. Against this spirit of sacrilegious plunder, the virtuous citizens united their exertions; and Calvin, from the pulpit, boldly testified both against their lewdness and rapacity, declaring that they would draw upon themselves the vindictive judgments of God; warning them, that the original extortions of the Papists, in accumulating this property, would be no justification for their seizing by violence, that to which they had neither a providential nor legal claim.

The Waldenses, inhabiting the retired vallies of Piedmont, had long struggled for their religious rights, under the severe pressure of Popish intolerance. Having obtained a copy of OLIVETAN's translation of the scriptures, they committed the whole Bible to the press in the Waldensian tongue. Strong in the faith of the Gospel, they publickly held their religious assemblies, and submitted to sufferings and privations amidst the cruelties of almost unceasing persecution. In 1536, an exterminating edict was published against the numerous Waldenses who inhabited the towns of Cambriers and Merindol. The operation of this decree William du Bellai, Governour of Piedmont, had suspended for several years. The enemies of this innocent people opposed this forbearance, and accused them to the King of many heresies. To counteract these accusations, they presented to Francis, in 1544, the confession of their faith. This had been formed after the model of the Genevese Church, a circumstance by no means in their favour with Turnon and the influential Papists at court. The adoption of more vigourous measures was urged by Minerius Oppedeus, the new President of Provence; and he obtained, through the influence of Cardinal Turnon, an order from the King to carry into effect the edict which the moderation of Bellai had suspended. Oppedeus, in the absence of the Governour, Count de Grignan, raised a body of troops which were joined by others from Avignon, and marched against these industrious and pious people. He sacked and burnt their towns; and killed, tortured and committed the inhabitants to the flames without respecting either age or sex. He inhumanly destroyed all, who did not escape beyond discovery to the caves of the mountains, or flee beyond his reach within the hospitable walls of Geneva, and the reformed cities of Switzerland.*

Having aided them, by his counsels and letters, in establishing their faith, Calvin was greatly afflicted at their calamities. He had, for several years, applied himself to the German Princes, to procure their influence with Francis for the humane purpose of securing these persecuted people in the peaceful enjoyment of those religious rights which they accounted dearer than life. These expectations were blasted at a stroke, by this exterminating persecution. He still, however, found a place for the exercise of his parental care, by extending to these sorrowful fugitives assistance and consolation.

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* Dupin. Eccl. Hist. 16, Book 2, p. 184.

Andrew Osiander, an early disciple of Luther, published a work against the Zuinglians upon the Eucharist.* He called up not only all the old peculiarities on that subject, but sharpened afresh all that bitterness of invective which Luther himself had too much indulged. Osiander was one of those persons who only feel themselves to be of importance in a storm. The followers of Zuinglius, and the adherents of Luther, had permitted, for a time, those points of debate, which they had so long and severely agitated, about the real presence in the elements of the supper, to be much at rest. Melancthon, Bucer and Calvin were studious to cover the coals if they could not entirely quench them. But this haughty and vehement man kindled up afresh, from those sleeping ashes, the consuming fire of controversy. Calvin was deeply afflicted at the revival of those pernicious disputes among Churches, whose differences were almost wholly confined to that single point. In his letter to Melancthon, he laments the imprudence and bitterness of Osiander; and especially his abusive treatment of Zuinglius, the first Reformer of the Swiss Churches, and of the amiable Œcolampadius. But he was far more deeply distressed at the wounds inflicted on the cause of the Saviour.—*Let us mourn,* he says, *for it becomes us to be afflicted with the troubles of the Church; but let us still sustain ourselves with this hope, that although we are oppressed and tossed by these mighty waters, we shall not be overwhelmed.*†

Luther himself was deeply engaged in this controversy. About 1543, Gualter of Zurich published the works of Zuinglius with an apology for his doctrine, which gave offence to the German Reformer. The same year, the translation of the scriptures into the German language, commenced by Leo Judah, was finished and published by Bullinger and the other

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* Mosheim, Cent. 16, p. 45, 47, Note.

† See Letters, No. 31 and 35.

Pastors of Zurich. The bookseller sent a copy of this Bible to Luther, who was highly offended, apprehending that it would be a means of supporting the opinion of Zuinglius concerning the nature of the Lord's supper. He wrote a letter to the bookseller, which should not have contained expressions so unworthy of that great man. In 1544, Luther also published *a short confession concerning the Lord's supper;* * in the introduction to which he used a wantonness of language, and a roughness of reproach, with such anathemas, against Bullinger and the other Pastors of Zurich, as admit neither of translation nor even apology; except it may be said, such was the temperament of the man, and such his blind attachment to his favourite dogma, *that the real body and blood of Christ were in, with, or under the consecrated bread and wine at the Lord's supper.* It was to this last work of Luther that Calvin alludes, in the subsequent extract of his letter to Bullinger, dated Geneva, Nov. 25, 1544.

"CALVIN to BULLINGER wishes health.

——————————"I hear that Luther has at length burst forth, with atrocious invectives, not only against you but against us all. Now I scarcely dare beg of you and your colleagues, to be silent, because it is not just that the innocent should be thus abused, and not be allowed to defend themselves; and besides it is difficult to determine, whether it is expedient. I wish you to recal these things to your mind: How great a man Luther is, and with how great gifts he excells; also with what fortitude and constancy of mind, with what efficacy of learning, he hath hitherto laboured and watched to destroy the kingdom of Antichrist, and to propagate, at the same time, the doctrine of salvation.

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* Seckendorf, Vol. 2, p. 420, and list of Luther's writings in index III. Dupin, Cent. 16. b. II. p. 177.

*I often say, if he should call me a devil, I hold him in such honour, that I would acknowledge him an eminent servant of God.** —But as he is endowed with great virtues, so he labours under great failings. I wish he had studied more effectually to restrain his impetuosity of temper, which breaks forth in every direction; that he had always turned this vehemence, which is so natural to him, against the enemies of the truth, and not equally brandished it against the servants of God; and that he had given more diligent labour, to search out his own faults. He has been surrounded by too many flatterers, seeing he is also too much inclined by nature to indulge himself. It is our duty to reprehend what is evil in him, in such a manner as to yield very much to his excellent qualities. Consider, I beseech you, with your colleagues, in the first place, that you have to deal with a chief servant of Christ, to whom we are all much indebted. And then, that by contending, you will effect nothing, but a pleasure to the impious, who will triumph, not so much over us as over the Gospel. For reviling one another, they will give us more than full credit. But when we preach Christ with one consent, and one mouth, they pervert this union, to diminish our faith, by which they disclose, more than they would, the importance of our united labours. I wish you to examine and reflect upon these things, rather than dwell on what Luther has merited by his intemperate language. Lest that befall us, therefore, which Paul denounces, that by biting and devouring one another we should be consumed, however he may have provoked us, we must rather abstain from the contest, than increase the wound, to the common injury of the Church."

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* Luther, in his asperity against the Zuinglians, Bullinger and others, had used harsh language; and Calvin, who was anxious to prevent the controversy, states his own feelings, supposing Luther should call him a *devil*, &c. to allay the resentment of Bullinger and the other Pastors of Zurich.

The persecutions in France, at this time, induced some persons who adhered to the Reformers in private, to conform to the externals of Popery, in order to shield themselves from chains and death. Calvin disapproved of their conduct, and published a tract* exposing such a conformity to the Papists as inconsistent with their duties to their families and the cause and commands of Christ. These persons, who were for compromising their religion for the favour of the world, complained of the principles which Calvin had established, as the rules of duty for the professed followers of Christ, as too rigid and severe. They appealed to the advice of Luther and Melancthon, expecting more favourable terms. Calvin, at their request, addressed a letter to Luther, and another to Melancthon,† accompanied by his *treatise*, and a subsequent *defence*‡ of it. In this defence he gave them the appellation of *Pseudo-Nicodemites*, as they had justified their covert acknowledgment of Christ, by the example of *Nicodemus*, in visiting Jesus by night. It does not appear that Luther answered the letter of Calvin. But Melancthon gave his opinion in full and decisive language. In allusion to the feelings of Calvin about the controversy of Osiander, expressed in the sentence quoted above, Melancthon concludes his letter in these words,—*April* 17*th, the day on which Noah,* 3846 *years ago, entered the ark, by which example, God testifies that he will not forsake his Church, when tossed on the mighty waters.*§ Those two tracts of Calvin, with the letter of Melancthon, and those of Bucer and Peter Martyr¶ annexed, were published in 1546. Three years after, Bullinger, and the other Pastors of Zurich, addressed a letter to Calvin, approbating the doctrine which he had supported, *That it was unlawful for any Christian to appear to assent to those false doctrines and that superstition which in his heart he condemns.*

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* See Opuscula Calvini, p. 434. *De vitandis Superstitionibus.*

† See Letters, No. 31. ‡ Opuscula Cal. p. 444.

§ Opus. Cal. p. 457. ¶ See Notes No. 13.

A young man, by the name of Troilett, having counterfeited the hermit in France, returned to Geneva about this time, with an assumed appearance of piety. Calvin, remarkable for his penetration in distinguishing the dispositions of persons, and their real from their avowed opinions, soon discovered the hypocrisy of Troilett, and gave him in a private conversation his advice. He however, aided by others, became still more obtrusive in his manners, in the meetings of the congregation. At length Calvin gave him a public reprimand, for his unbecoming and disorderly conduct. Incensed at this, he readily found those who justified and encouraged his audacity; and, on the death of one of the Ministers, he demanded to be introduced into the vacancy. The Senate interposed their authority, and ordered an enquiry to be made respecting his character. The Ministers of the Genevese Churches laid before the Senate the reasons of their objections, that he was by party influence, and the low arts of intrigue, pushing himself forward to the pastoral office; that the baseness of his morals was evinced by the surreptitious letters, which he had produced to support a lame character; and that, in consequence of this fact, he was even now the sport of his own faction. The Senate ordered the ecclesiastical laws to be enforced against him, and he was rejected.*

In the beginning of the year 1546, Charles V. and Paul III. concerted a plan which, in its result, was designed to effect injuriously the dearest interests of the German and Swiss Reformers. So confident was the Pope of success, that in July he addressed a letter* to the Swiss, declaring his determination to unite his forces with the Emperour's, and revenge their contumaciousness by an exterminating war. The Swiss were thrown into great consternation by this letter, and by the measures of Charles, who had put the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse under the Ban of the Empire, more effectually to ruin them by exposing their dominions to every species of lawless depredation.† The Emperour managed in the most artful manner, to divide and awaken those States which were deeply interested to be united in their common defence; and with no less duplicity he led the Pope into all his measures, by holding out to him the advantages which the Romish Church would derive from suppressing the Protestants. In both respects he succeeded beyond his expectations. After multiplied disasters, those Princes were humbled at his feet, and yielded to such terms as this haughty man saw expedient to prescribe.‡ The accumulated fruits of years appeared in a moment to be swept away, from themselves and their children; their hopes of the Reformation blasted; and their dearest interests in the visible Church sinking into the grave with their venerable Reformer.§ Death, by many, was embraced as a happy deliverance from the distresses which they felt, and the more tempestuous trials which they feared. The fugitive brethren gave to the reformed Churches the most dismal tidings of the ruin of their cause. The intimate friends of Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon and many others, were borne down with anguish, and their lives threatened with imminent danger. The letters of Bucer conveyed the feelings of his heart in the concise language of grief: *O my Calvin! is not God thus wanting to his promises, because we have despised them?*

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* Epist. Calvini ad Farellum, dat. Sept. 8.

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* Dupin Eccl. Hist. 16 Cent. B. 3, p. 34.

† Dupin, 16 Cent. B. 3, p. 39.

‡ Dupin p. 72.

§ Luther died February 18, 1546.

*How suddenly, all our loftiness is fallen into baseness and misery?—Beseech the Lord fervently for the health of this Church, that she may learn to lose her life, that she may save it.**— Amidst these convulsions, the soul of Calvin while he sympathized in their sorrows, was still undismayed. Firm as the rocks of his country, and with views far more elevated than her mountains afford, he looked abroad over all the darkness of Pontifical impiety and imperial ambition, which, like the clouds of morning mist, winding around their tops, transiently dissolved, before the visions of faith, and passed away beneath the light of the promises and the Providence of the Redeemer. The Pope discovered too late, that the disguised policy of Charles was directing all his measures to the accumulation of his own power; that with all his means to crush the Protestant and establish the Romish worship, he had done nothing, but negotiate with the enemies of Popery, on terms that would best secure his personal domination; and, apprehensive that his next step would be to dictate laws to the States of Italy, he suddenly withdrew his troops, preferring that the Protestants should abide in their strength, as a check upon this ambitious and perfidious man. The Pope was thus *turned back by the way which he came*, disappointed of his purpose, and dismayed at the influence which he had thrown into the hands of Charles.

During the troubles in Germany, the Genevese were agitated with internal factions. *Ammi Perrin*, a man of consummate vanity, audacity and ambition, headed the unruly and disaffected in that city. By the suffrages of the people, he had been elected to the office of *Captain General* of Geneva. From this circumstance, and the singularity of his manners, Calvin, usually in his letters to Farel and Viret, designated him by the title of *Comicus Cæsar, the comical Emperour.*

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* Epist. Calvini, p. 45, et 46.

Exposed by their immoralities to ecclesiastical censures, Perrin and his associates concerted a plan to weaken and destroy the influence of Calvin. Two of the colleague Pastors, becoming from their intemperance liable to the severity of the laws, instigated one of the Senators to accuse Calvin of teaching false doctrine. The Senator, who brought the accusation, was summoned before the Council, and the matter being heard, he was sentenced, as a calumniator, and the two Pastors were deposed from their office, and forbidden to frequent the wine shops.

Amidst these difficulties, Calvin laboured to evince that the Gospel which he announced was not a matter of refined speculation, or worldly convenience, *but the high calling of God*, the supreme business of a Christian's life. The plain instructions of Calvin gave offence to those who wished to revel in licentious amusements, and yet be treated as good and wholsome members of the Church. Perrin and some others, falling under censure, were anxious to escape the judgment of the Consistory, and pleaded that the trial for criminal conduct should come only before the Senate. The Consistory urged, in defence of their rights, that the system of discipline had been sanctioned, as conformable to the word of God; and implored the support of the Senate, that the Church might receive no injury. The Senate decreed, that the ecclesiastical laws should be observed, and established the sentence against the delinquents. The violence of Perrin and his associates was greatly increased in their endeavours to raise disorder and sedition in the city. To allay the increasing evils, the Council of two hundred were convoked to meet on the 16th of September, 1547. On the preceding day, Calvin informed his colleagues, that tumults would probably be excited by the factious, and that it was his intention, to be present at the meeting. Accordingly Calvin, accompanied by his colleagues, proceeded to the Council house, but arrived before the appointed time. Seeing many persons walking about the door, they retired through an adjoining gate and were unnoticed. They had not been long in this retreat, before they heard loud and confused clamours, which instantly increased with all the signs of sedition. Calvin ran to the place, and though the aspect of things was terrible, he advanced into the midst of the violent and noisy crowd. His presence struck them with astonishment. His friends pressed around him, as a defence. He raised his voice, and solemnly declared, that he came to oppose his body to their swords, and if they were determined to shed any blood, he exhorted them to begin with his. The heat of the sedition abated. On entering the Senate chamber, he found a more violent contest. He pressed between the parties, when they were upon the point of drawing their swords for mutual slaughter, in the very sanctuary of justice. Like an Angel of peace, he arrested the fury of the faction, and having brought the assembly to their seats, he addressed them in a continued and impressive oration. He pointed out to the seditious their crimes, and the publick evils which must inevitably follow upon indulging in such immoralities and factions; and denounced upon them the judgments of God, if they should persist in such iniquities. The effects of this address were so deeply felt, by the seditious themselves, that they commended him for his interposition, which had arrested their bloody attack upon the Senate.*

Soon after this, the wife of Perrin was called before the Consistory for her improper conduct. She became petulant, and intemperately added insult to abuse. After being reproved without effect by Pouppinus, one of the Ministers, she was referred to the Senate, and by their order confined in prison. She made her escape, and meeting Pouppinus without the gates of the city, attacked him with the most abusive language. The next day a libel was found affixed to the pulpit, in which the Pastors were threatened with death, if they persisted in their adherence to the rules of discipline and publick reproof. The Senate ordered a strict enquiry after the conspirators. One James Gruet was apprehended, and his papers examined. Among these were letters and other writings, which insulted the Senate and the laws of the Republick; threatened the life of Calvin; ridiculed the scriptures as false; abused the Saviour; and called the immortality of the soul a dream and a fable.* Convicted of these and other crimes against the city and Senate, Gruet was sentenced to death, and publickly beheaded. Perrin and his wife retired from Geneva. Calvin, however, interceded with the Senate to remit their sentence against her, upon her showing any signs of repentance. But this interposition produced no effect upon the mind of this outrageous woman.

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* Calvin's Letter to Viret, dated Sept. 17, 1547, in ejus Epistolis.

Amidst those conflicts, Calvin was watchful over the interest of the reformed Churches of France. In August, he addressed a letter to the Church of Rohan to counteract the errours of a Franciscan Friar, who was labouring, to impose upon that people the corruptions of the heresy of Carpocrates.†

The interests of the Protestant Churches of Germany were at this time endangered by the proceedings of the famous Council of Trent,‡ which was called by Paul III., and opened in that city January 7, 1546. Between that time and March, 1547, it held seven sessions. The acts of this *last general Council* were published for the special purpose of condemning the opinions of Zuinglius, Luther and their followers. To rectify their misrepresentations, and false statements, of the conduct and principles of the Reformers, Calvin published, in November, 1547, *an antidote against the seven sessions of the Council of Trent.* In this he recited the acts of each session, and replied with energy and effect.*

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* Calvin's letter to Viret, July 2, 1547, in Epis.

† Calvini Opuscula p. 403. Carpocrates was author of a pernicious heresy in the 2d Century. Mosh. vol. 1, p. 184, and Rees' Cyclopædia.

‡ Dupin, 16 Cent. Hist. of Coun. Trent.

In the mean time, the faction of Perrin became anxious to have their leader restored to his office and influence in the city. They proposed a settlement of all the subsisting difficulties, and requested that Viret should be called from Lausanne, to assist in effectuating this object. Calvin accordingly wrote to Viret and Farel.† These Ministers came to Geneva, and through their address and influence, and at the request of Calvin, the Senate reluctantly, because jealous of the dissimulation of Perrin, restored him to his office, after the Consistory had removed the sentence of excommunication. This accommodation took place in the beginning of 1548.

However Farel, Viret and Calvin might have expected that this accommodation would be permanent, they soon found, that Perrin and his faction had pursued those measures of peace, in order the more extensively to effect their hostile purpose. They threw off the mask by degrees, and with increased impudence proceeded to vent their malice against Calvin, in those methods which are the last resorts of meanness. Some cut their corslets in the form of a cross; others named their dogs Calvin; some changed his name into Cain; and a few abstained from the Supper of the Lord, to express their hatred of the Pastor. Conscious of his own integrity, Calvin, unmoved by these reproaches, pursued the regular course of duty, and procured the arraignment of these revilers before the Senate, for their contemptuous conduct towards the ministry. Being convicted, they sanctioned anew the terms of reconciliation with their oaths, on the 18th of December, and for a season their factious proceedings were suppressed.

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* Cal. Opus. p. 226.

† Epist. Calvini, to Viret, March, 1547. To Farel, August, 1547.

Having obtained complete success in the battle of Mulhberg on the Elbe, in the spring of 1547, and made the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse prisoners, the Emperour, to make sure of his ambitious purposes, called a Diet at Augsburg. After much opposition from the Pope, and fruitless delays from their mutual jealousies, he determined to settle, agreeable to his own wishes, the religious order of his own dominions. He accordingly published, May 15, 1548,* a system of doctrine and worship, designed to regulate the Churches of Germany, till another Council should be convened. This Formula was called the *Interim.* It artfully covered the substance of Popery, with some accommodating expressions, to quiet the Protestants, under the imperial authority. In the general alarm and resentment, it engaged the attention of Calvin. He exposed the oppressive measures of Charles; unmasked this system of hypocrisy, as he examined it step by step; and demonstrated its noxious tendency to subvert the foundation of the Protestant cause.† During this year, amidst the vexatious factions of his own Church, Calvin, as though surrounded by a perfect calm, completed and published his learned commentaries on the Epistles of the Apostle Paul. And also, in a small but elegantly written work, he exposed, with much acuteness, the falsity and folly of judicial astrology.

Bucer, having read the Interim at the request of the Elector of Brandenburg, plainly told him, "that it was nothing but downright Popery, only a little disguised." The Elector was highly offended, and Bucer, not without great hazard, returned to Strasburg. Germany, which had been the sanctuary of the persecuted Reformers from Italy and France, was now threatened with an overwhelming storm; and many of her Ministers were compelled to shelter themselves in obscure retreats, or to take refuge in Switzerland and England. Henry VIII. was succeeded, in 1547, by his son Edward VI., a youth distinguished for his piety and early attachment to the cause of the Reformation. The venerable Cranmer, with others under the auspices of the Lord Protector and the Prince, had entered on the work of purifying the Church, with moderation and wisdom. To forward, in the best manner, the laborious undertaking, they judged it expedient to ask the assistance of some of the experienced Reformers from Germany. For this purpose, Cranmer addressed letters, in the name of the King,* to Peter Martyr, at Strasburg, requesting him and others to come into England. Martyr, with Bernard Ochinus, arrived in England in Nov. 1547. Martyr was appointed Divinity Professor at Oxford; Ochinus was made a Canon of Canterbury; and a salary of forty marks was settled on each of them by the King. The letters of Martyr conveyed to his friends the account of the changes which were taking place in England, in ecclesiastical matters, and excited the attention of Calvin and Bucer. "Calvin wrote," *says Bishop* BURNET, "to the *Protector* on the 29th of October,† encouraging him to go on, notwithstanding the wars, as Hezekias had done in his Reformation. He lamented the heats of some that professed the Gospel; but complained that he heard there were few lively sermons preached in England; and that the Preachers recited their discourses coldly. He much approves of a set form of prayers, whereby the consent of all the Churches did more manifestly appear. But he advises a more complete Reformation. He taxed the *prayers for the dead*, the *use of chrism*, and *extreme unction*, since they were no where recommended in scripture. He had heard, that the reason why they went no farther, was, because the times would not bear it: But this was to do the work of God by political maxims; which, though they ought to take place in other things, yet should not be followed in matters in which the salvation of the soul is concerned. But above all, he complained of the impieties and vices which were so common in England; as swearing, drinking and uncleanness, and prayed him earnestly that these things might be looked after." Such is the account which Burnet* gives of the elegant letter of Calvin to the *Duke of Somerset*.† When Nicolaus, the messenger, delivered it to the Duke, and informed him that he had another for the King, he graciously undertook the office of delivering it, and went the next day to the palace, where it was received with great pleasure by the young monarch and the royal Council. Cranmer informed Nicolaus, that Calvin could do nothing more useful than to write often to the King.‡ Bucer still remained at Strasburg, but the troubles in Germany about the Interim daily increasing, he yielded to the request of Archbishop Cranmer, and with Paul Fagius§ arrived in England in the spring of 1549.¶ Bucer was appointed Professor of Theology at Cambridge, and gave Calvin an account of the state of religion in that country. Considering the temporizing spirit of Bucer, and the extensive benefit he might render the English Church, Calvin, in his answer,* advised him to be decisive and express on the subject of the Lord's Supper, and effectually consoled him in his exile from Strasburg.

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* See Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. 2, p. 81. Dupin, 16 Cent. B. 3, p. 83.

† See Opuscula Theologica Calvini, p. 260.

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* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. 2, p. 50.

† Idem, p. 83. The three editions of Calvin's Letters which I have before me, of Geneva, Hannau and Amsterdam, all have this letter dated October 22.

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* Peter Heylin, in his history of the Presbyterians, gives an account of this letter, but not with the candour and correctness of Burnet. Heylin is an intemperate and incorrect author; and has need of a *verbal process* upon his assertions, even when he refers to his authorities. Heylin however slightly alludes to the other letters which Calvin wrote to the Protector and the King.——See Heylin, Hist. Presb. p. 12.

† See Letters, No. 34.

‡ Calvin's letter to Farel, dated June 15, 1551, in ejus Epist.

§ The learned Fagius was employed at Cambridge to translate the Old Testament from the Hebrew, and Bucer the New Testament from the Greek. But these works were not completed. Fagius died Nov. 15, 1550.

¶ Bucholtzer's Chronology, Anno 1549. He says that Bucer and Fagius left Strasburg April 1, 1549.

The expediency of submitting to the *Interim* had excited a controversy among the Saxon Divines. Melancthon and others concurred in the opinion, that in matters of an *indifferent nature* compliance was due to the imperial edicts. Under this covert, they sheltered themselves from persecution, while in appearance they connived at the imposition of the substance of Popery upon the reformed Churches. Matthias Flacius, with others, attacked those evasive divines, and with an overbearing intolerance and bitterness accused Melancthon of apostacy from the true doctrines. Calvin, at their request, wrote Melancthon an admonitory letter. Considering his anxieties lest Melancthon had yielded too much on this occasion, this letter is an uncommon instance of faithful friendship to that distinguished man, and of supreme regard to the cause of Christ.†

While the German Churches were thus oppressed by the severity of Charles, and multiplying their difficulties by personal dissensions, the Swiss were making important advances in composing their differences of opinion about the Eucharist. Luther, after the interview of Marpurg in 1529, had been most vehemently tenacious in maintaining the doctrine of *Consubstantiation*. Zuinglius, Bullinger, Calvin and others were decidedly opposed to this doctrine, as being nothing essentially different in absurdity from the Romish *Transubstantiation*. Melancthon, Bucer and Calvin were anxious to keep all the Churches in fellowship, and had used accommodating terms in explaining the presence of Christ in the elements of the Supper. In consequence of this, Calvin was represented as holding the opinion of Luther that, after the consecration of the elements, the body and blood of Christ are substantially present, together with the substance of the bread and wine. To remove these unfounded suspicions, Calvin repaired with Farel to Zurich, and in a publick conference settled the agitated question on the permanent basis of a written confession. The articles were approved by the other Swiss Churches, and the Church of *Zurich* was thus united to that of Geneva, and Bullinger to Calvin, in renewed and durable bonds of amity.*

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* See Letters, No. 36.

† See Letters, No. 35.

Lœlius Socinus, of Sienna, who injudiciously indulged himself in curious and scholastick questions, having some acquaintance with Calvin, addressed to him several enquiries of a theological nature. Calvin answered his questions about the resurrection and other points; and at the same time suspecting his opinions, he plainly advised him to check his ardent desire for unprofitable speculations, as the indulgence might be the occasion of much evil to him in the end.† This man was artful in concealing his own wayward opinions, under the form of questions to be discussed, as though he was seeking for light, when his real object was to puzzle and undermine the opinions of others, and draw them into darkness and doubt. He appears to have profited so far by the admonitions of Calvin as to have concealed the extent of his presumptuous speculations, not only from him but also from Melancthon and Camerarius. After his death, it was ascertained that he was the principal author of those opinions which have given a new appellation to an old heresy. Faustus Socinus obtained at Zurich the papers of his uncle, from which the notions of the Paulicians were revived, That the Almighty Saviour is a mere man, and the Holy Spirit a mere attribute; and that the essential doctrines of the Gospel, original sin, the atonement, and the agency and grace of the Holy Spirit are not taught in the scriptures.*

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* See Tract. Theolog. Calvini, p. 648, dated August 1, 1549.

† Two letters to Socinus, in Epist. Calvini; the last dated December, 1549.

Notwithstanding the conflicts with which the Genevese Church had struggled, her numbers were increased, and on account of the persecutions which prevailed in France and Germany, and the wars in both countries, many respectable strangers had sought refuge in this independent city, where they were received by Calvin with great kindness. The divine blessing rested upon his labours, both as Professor of Theology and Pastor of that Church, while his reputation and the influence of his writings were extensively increasing in the Churches abroad.

Early in the spring of this year, the faith and fortitude of Calvin were brought to a severe trial. The companion, who had for about nine years cherished him in the most affectionate manner, was removed by death in March, 1549. She was comely in her person,† amiable in her manners, and devoutly humble in her religious duties; and her death was to Calvin, amidst his labours and infirmities, an irreparable loss. His strong and habitual faith, however, enabled him to submit, with exemplary calmness and constancy, to this chastising stroke from the hand of divine sovereignty. On this interesting occasion, he shall speak for himself.

"CALVIN TO FAREL.

"The report of the death of my wife has doubtless reached you before this. I use every exertion in my power not to be entirely overcome with heaviness of heart. My friends, who are about me, omit nothing that can afford any alleviation to the depression of my mind. When your brother left us, we almost despaired of her life. On Tuesday, all the brethren being present, we united in prayer. Pouppinus then, in the name of the rest, exhorted her to faith and patience. In a few words, (for she was very feeble,) she gave evidence of the state of her mind. After this I added an exhortation, such as I thought suitable to the occasion. As she had not mentioned her children, I was apprehensive that from delicacy she might cherish in her mind an anxiety more painful than her disease; and I declared before the brethren, that I would take the same care of them as if they were my own. She answered, *I have already commended them to the Lord.* When I observed that this did not lessen my obligation of duty to them, she answered immediately, *If the Lord takes them under his protection, I know they will be entrusted to your care.* The elevation of her mind was so great that she appeared to be raised above this world. On the day when she gave up her soul to the Lord, our brother Borgonius, a little before 6 o'clock, opened to her the consolations of the Gospel, during which she frequently exclaimed, so that we all perceived that her affections were on things above. The words she uttered were, *O glorious Resurrection!—God of Abraham, and of all our fathers!—The faithful have, for so many ages, hoped in thee, and not one has been disappointed.———I will also hope.* These short sentences she rather ejaculated, than pronounced with a continued voice. She did not catch them from others. But by these few words she manifested the thoughts which exercised her mind, and the meditations which she cherished in her own heart. At 6 o'clock I was compelled to leave home. After seven they shifted her position, and she immediately began to fail. Perceiving her voice beginning to falter, she said, *Let us pray—Let us pray—Pray for me, all of you.*—At this time I entered the house. She was unable to speak, but gave signs of an agitated mind. I said a few things concerning the grace of Christ, the hope of eternal life, our domestick intercourse and fellowship, and our departure from this society and union. I retired to pray. She was attentive to the instruction, and heard the prayers with a sound mind. Before 8 o'clock she breathed her last so placidly, that those present could not distinguish the moment which closed her life.—I now suppress the sorrow of my heart, and give myself no remission from my official duties. But the Lord still exercises me with other troubles. Farewell, dear and faithful brother. May the Lord Jesus strengthen you by his spirit, and me also in this so great calamity, which would inevitably have overpowered me unless from heaven he had stretched forth his hand, whose office it is to raise the fallen, to strengthen the weak, and to refresh the weary. Salute all the brethren and your whole family.

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* See Bayle. Art. Faust. Socinus. Notes.

† Bayle.

"Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

"GENEVA, April 11, 1549."

"CALVIN TO VIRET.

"Although the death of my wife is a very severe affliction, yet I repress, as much as I am able, the sorrow of my heart. My friends also afford every anxious assistance, yet with all our exertions we effect less, in assuaging my grief than I could wish; but still the consolation which I do obtain I cannot express. You know the tenderness of my mind, or rather with what effeminacy I yield under trials; so that without the exercise of much moderation, I could not have supported the pressure of my sorrow. Certainly it is no common occasion of grief. I am deprived of a most amiable partner, who, whatever might have occurred of extreme endurance, would have been my willing companion, not only in exile and poverty, but even in death. While she lived she was indeed the faithful helper of my ministry, and on no occasion did I ever experience from her any interruption.

"For your friendly consolation I return you my sincere thanks. Farewell, my dear and faithful brother. May the Lord Jesus watch over and direct you and your wife. To her and the brethren express my best salutation.

"Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

"April 7, 1549."

"VIRET TO CALVIN.

"The things which are related to me, by the united testimony of the most respectable witnesses, concerning the fortitude and equanimity of your mind, under this so severe family wound and domestick grief, afford me reason to suppose, that I should congratulate rather than console you in my letter; especially as I am perfectly aware of that which you call the *tenderness* of your mind. This quality may, with more propriety, be ascribed to you than *effeminacy*, as your conduct fully proves the last to be inapplicable to your disposition. On this account, I the more admire the influence of that divine Spirit which operates in you; and abundantly proves himself by his fruits worthy of the name of the true Comforter. And may I not justly acknowledge the power of that Spirit in you, since you bear, with so composed a mind, those domestick misfortunes, which with the greatest possible severity most intimately affect your heart, which was always so easily moved at the calamities of others, and so accustomed to feel them as if they were your own. Believe me, your fortitude is uncommon, and so is the testimony of divine benevolence towards you. This makes me greatly ashamed of myself, that in a similar affliction I did not exercise the same fortitude, nor even arrive at the least shadow of it. I was so overpowered and prostrated by that stroke of adversity, that the whole earth appeared to me nothing but a mere wilderness. Every thing was unpleasant; there was no object which could assuage the sorrow of my soul. I often accused myself of bearing my affliction with much less fortitude, than was becoming my station, and still less becoming a man who had embraced the doctrine of divine wisdom, at its first appearance, professing myself not only a disciple, but a teacher of others; because I was unable to use those remedies, in my own sufferings, which I prescribed to others under like trials. But you, on the contrary, are so far from being dejected and disheartened, that you inspire others with new strength by your example; testifying that you have done that yourself which you recommended to others, and thus you are able, when in health, to give the best counsels to the sick, and in your own trials can draw consolation from them, and conduct yourself as though all was well. It comforted me beyond measure, when I was informed, not by vague rumours, but by so many messengers, that you went through all the duties of your office, with a readiness and ease, greater than usual, and that you were always present in body and mind, at all your meetings, sermons, and all publick and private duties, to the admiration of all; and that you did this especially at the time, when your sorrows were recent, and had the keenest edge to wound and destroy your constancy. Proceed therefore with the same stability; and so conduct yourself as to confirm this opinion of you in the minds of all, that you have always exercised that presence of mind, which this affliction has not so disturbed, and that repose which it has not so interrupted, but that you were able to discern, and command with ease, all those things which could tend to comfort you. That you may do this, and persevere in your course with fortitude, and receive daily an increase of strength, and more ample consolation, is my most fervent prayer to God. And what more can I do to assist you? For I have neither the influence of authority, nor the acuteness of reasoning, to withdraw or dissuade you from this severe conflict of sorrow, unless your own mind supplies you with resolution in bearing this cross, through the exuberant grace of divine goodness, from which proceed all those other gifts, which the Lord has so richly bestowed upon you. I will therefore say no more on this subject. I may have said too much already. My wife salutes you most affectionately, and is exercised with no common grief, by the death of her dearest sister, and with me considers it a calamity to us all. It grieves me, that an opportunity is not now afforded me for a personal interview with you. Should you wish it, no impeding circumstances shall prevent me from visiting you. My colleagues salute you with all the brethren, among whom you may number Francis of Viviers, who is now here and begs me to salute you in his name. Salute our domestick and other friends, especially Gallasius, Beza* and Ottoman, in my name, to whom Francis also wishes health. Farewell.

"Yours, PETER VIRET.

"LAUSANNE, April 10, 1549."

The year 1550 was comparatively tranquil, and the ecclesiastical affairs were conducted with unusual harmony. As some persons neglected publick worship, and others attended but with little profit, it was decreed by the Senate, that the Ministers should not limit their labours to preaching the word, but should at stated times visit every family, attended by the Decurion of each ward, and a ruling Elder: and that they should question each person summarily concerning the reason of his faith. This personal application of instruction was attended with favourable and extensive benefits. It was also decreed, that the commemoration of the nativity of the Saviour should be referred to the next Lord's day, and that no day should be observed as holy excepting every seventh day which is called the Lord's day. This regulation offended some who were attached to the festivals, and they attempted to excite an opposition to this proceedure, by insinuating that Calvin would finally abolish the Lord's day itself. But however ready the opposers were to charge this decree upon Calvin, the fact was, that it was passed by the people not only without the request, but even without the knowledge of the Ministers; and Calvin, though he judged this measure inexpedient, at this time and under all the circumstances, laboured to conduct himself in the most accommodating manner respecting this subject.* At this time, to expose and counteract the disposition to detraction which is too commonly indulged by many, Calvin published, on this occasion, a small work concerning *Scandal*, which he dedicated to his old and faithful friend Laurence of Normandy.†

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* In 1548, Beza left Paris, and arrived at Geneva Oct. 24. From thence he went to Tubingen, to see his old instructor, Melchior Wolmar. He returned to Geneva, and at the call of the Church of Lausanne, and the solicitations of Calvin, he commenced his ecclesiastical labours in this city, 1549.

Martin Bucer, Professor of Theology in the University of Cambridge, closed his learned and useful career February 28, 1551. As he had been highly respected by Edward VI., his remains were interred with distinguished funeral honours.‡ The death of Bucer occurred at the critical moment when the Liturgy of the English Church was undergoing a reform. The loss of his influence in that work, and the close of a long and most confidential intimacy and correspondence, so deeply affected Calvin, that in his letter to Farel, he forebore dwelling on the painful subject; and says, "When I reflect with myself, how great a loss the Church of God has sustained in the death of this man, it cannot be but that I should be tortured with fresh sorrow. His influence was great in England. And from his writings, I cannot but indulge the hope, that posterity will be benefited in a still more extensive degree. It may be added that the Church appears to be deprived of faithful Teachers." He proceeds to mention, in the same letter, the death of his friend Joachim Vadian, Consul of St. Gal, a civil Magistrate valuable for his learning and piety, the weight of whose influence was very great in the civil and religious concerns of the Helvetians.*

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* Epist. Cal. to the Minister of Buren, dated July 10, 1550.

† See Opuscula Calvini, p. 64.

‡ See Burnet, vol. 2, p. 155.

Those who, from restlessness or ambition, are ever upon the watch to effect their evil purposes, are seldom without some pretext sufficiently plausible to afford them the hope of accomplishing those objects, to which their hatred of religion, or love of power, so strongly and anxiously impels them. The faction of Geneva, in order to stir up the sleeping fires of contention, first openly opposed the granting of the rights of citizenship to those who, exiled from other countries by persecution, had taken up their residence in this city. They next attacked Calvin with deriding language, as he was retiring from a meeting held across the Rhone; and to gratify their disposition for mischief, and abuse against the Ministers who reproved their vices, and the Consistory that disciplined them, they secretly removed one of the posts of the bridge over which Raymond Calvet must necessarily pass at night, and he narrowly escaped being precipitated into the river. For the purpose also of raising a popular tumult, a child was presented for baptism in the Church of St. Gervais, to whom it was well known that the Minister could not administer that ordinance, if he adhered to the established rules of ecclesiastical order. He refused to give the name *Balthazar*, and a violent tumult was raised on the occasion. Against these evils, however, Calvin opposed no means of defence, but the shield of steady and invincible patience.*

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* See Cal. Epist. Letter to Farel June 15, 1551, and to Viret May 10, 1551.

The successive attacks of the factious, to demolish the Consistory, had on the whole tended to add new strength to the basis, and to increase the compactness and durability of the edifice of Church discipline. Ecclesiastical censures were extremely dreaded, and the stoutest hearts were appalled at the disgrace which accompanied them. To avoid the infamy of publick censure, as they were determined to persist in their heretical opinions and vicious conduct, they judged it expedient to remove Calvin from his office, or destroy his influence, as he was the principal barrier which obstructed their course, and the chief supporter of correct discipline.

Among the Hydras of faction, which successively shot forth their revegetating heads in Geneva, Jerome Bolseck occupies a distinguished place. He first appeared in the character of a Parisian Monk, of the order of the Carmelites. Some years however before this, he had quitted his habit, without changing his disposition. After obtruding himself upon the pious Duchess of Ferrara, as a Reformer, his hypocrisy was detected and he was driven from her court. With only three days preparatory study, he then assumed the profession of medicine, and soon after came to Geneva. Finding himself despised as a quack, by the learned Physicians of this city, he was compelled to take some other course, and unfortunately attempted to establish himself as a

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* Quick's Synodicon, vol. 1, Art. of Discipline. Baptism, p. 46. Also, Synod 3d at Orleans, p. 25, sect. 21. Children of excommunicated parents were not to be baptized. Pagan names, and names sacred to God, and the names Baptist, Angel, Archangel, &c. were to be refused.——See Bingham's works, vol. 2, p. 774.

Theologian. The diversity of opinion, about the doctrine of predestination, opened the way for his attaching himself to that party, who were in opposition to the confession of the Church and the principles of Calvin. He soon began to advance his sentiments on some disputed points in the publick meetings. Calvin, in a private conversation, pointed out his errours, and endeavoured to persuade him into the belief of better things. Disregarding these counsels, and pleased with the commendations of the disaffected, he was instigated to address the people at a meeting of the congregation, the 16th of October, after one of the Ministers had discoursed from John, viii. 47. concerning the sovereignty of the grace of the Holy Spirit. He undertook to prove the fallacy of the doctrine of divine sovereignty, as stated by the Preacher, and added haughty and seditious reproaches against the avowed principles of that Church. As Calvin left the house at the close of the regular service, Bolseck supposed he was absent. He had however returned with the crowd, and stood unobserved by Bolseck till he finished his harrangue. Calvin immediately stepped forward, and on this unexpected emergency, discovered an extent of knowledge, strength of memory, and force of reasoning, which astonished the assembly. He confuted and overwhelmed Bolseck, with so many passages of scripture, so many quotations from Augustine, so aptly arranged and so pointedly applied, that all the factious were covered with confusion for the Monk, who alone stood with a frozen and unblushing front. One of the Magistrates being present ordered him into custody as a seditious person. The Swiss Churches were consulted, and after a full hearing before the Senate, this seditious man was sentenced, upon his own answers and confessions, to perpetual banishment, on pain, if he returned, of being whipped for his scandals, his impieties, and his ill life. His sentence was published by sound of trumpet, and being forbidden to remain in the territories of Geneva, he retired to a neighbouring town in the limits of the Canton of Bern, from which territory he was twice afterwards expelled for his seditious conduct.*

Bolseck, finding himself an outcast in Switzerland, went into France, and sought to obtain ordination, first at Paris and then at Orleans; artfully dissembling repentance, and voluntarily seeking reconciliation with the Church of Geneva, from which he was excommunicated, previously to his expulsion from that city. His apparent penitency made a favourable impression on the Synod of Orleans in 1562; and it would seem that he was entered on their list of Preachers, as in the records of the Synod 1563, at Lyons, he is named among the vagrants and deposed Ministers, as a most infamous liar and apostate.† Bolseck returned to the Papists, and settled at Autun, in the character of Physician, where, by his looseness of manners, he subjected himself to the reproach even of the most licentious.‡

The College of Ministers at Geneva, in a publick assembly, discussed the doctrine of divine predestination, and Calvin summing up the whole in a treatise, it received their approbation, and was published January 1, 1552. This intricate subject was limited within its proper bounds; its connection with other points opened; and its purposes illustrated with great clearness. This litigated question, which always afforded to the uneasy and unprincipled a plausible pretext to raise difficulties, was now eagerly seized, by the combined efforts of the factious in Geneva, and in the different Churches of the Canton of Bern, who were anxious to blast the reputation, and destroy the influence of Calvin. Castalio retained his bitterness against him; and for fear of the consequences of being known, propagated in secret the

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* See Bayle's Diction. Bolseck notes.

† Quick's Synodicon, 4th Synod, Lyons, p. 47.

‡ Bayle, Art. Bolseck.

Pelagian doctrines at Basil. Others at the same time united with the Papists, and accused Calvin of *making God the author of sin:* A doctrine which they might have known he had confuted in his Tract against the Libertines. To ascertain the true sentiments of Calvin, and exhibit them fairly, was no part of the labours of his enemies; and they gladly sheltered themselves, in their apostate pursuit, under the least shadow of authority from some late writings of Melancthon, who, though he had sanctioned with his name the work of Calvin against Pighius, had objected against the 16th article of the formula of faith concerning the Lord's Supper, which had been adopted by the Churches of Zurich and Geneva.* Calvin's letter to Melancthon will shew his grief and his painful anxiety about the reports which were circulated, for the purpose of leading the uninformed to the belief, that there was a total difference of opinion on that litigated subject between them.† The labours of the abandoned, and the virulence of the Papists, Calvin could bear as a matter of course; knowing that the usual procedure of those, who wilfully misrepresent the conduct or opinions of others, is to continue to repeat them with unceasing boldness, even in the face of facts, and the most ample refutation. Contempt and indifference cannot always be indulged with safety about reports, on account of their grossness or inconsistency; for if they are left unnoticed, it sometimes gives a new handle to the propagators to increase their labours and success. As a general rule, Calvin judged it expedient to refute the falsehoods propagated about him; especially those which related to his theological opinions, the misrepresentations of which affected injuriously the progress of the pure doctrines. His enemies had plucked out, here and there from his writings, sentences which, when insulated, afforded them the advantage of attaching to them such a construction as enabled them to charge upon him opinions which he abhorred. Being accused of teaching the *Fate of the Stoicks*, under the doctrine of Predestination, in his reply, he says, *The Fate of the Stoicks is a necessity that controls God himself. Predestination, as the scriptures teach it, I define to be the free counsel of God, by which he governs the human race, and all parts of the world, according to his immense wisdom and incomprehensible justice.** The objections of Calvin's opposers, however unfair and unpleasant to him, called forth his acute and discriminating powers of mind in illustrating the true doctrines, and obviating plausible difficulties, to the great benefit of the cause of religion.

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* See Theologici Tractatus Calvini, p. 593, Section 16.

† See Letters, No. 44.

The Hermit Troillet, who was precluded from the ministerial office, assumed the profession of a Lawyer, and at this time put himself at the head of the factious and disaffected, in opposition to the doctrine of gratuitous election and divine sovereignty. The question was agitated before the Senate with much spirit. Troillet contended, with the force of impudence, in favour of those Pelagian opinions which are so congenial to the native depravity and pride of man; while Calvin, without fearing the displeasure, or courting the favour of any, maintained his doctrines according to the sure testimony of God. His triumph was complete; and his late treatise on Predestination, and the secret operations of Divine Providence, was approbated as being agreeable to the scriptures, and what was remarkable, even by the suffrages of his enemies themselves.

Troillet lived but a few years subsequent to this period. When drawing towards the close of life, he became anxious that Calvin should witness his repentance. He declared that his conscience could yield him no peace, unless before his death, he should become reconciled to him, whom he had so unprovokedly and indignantly injured. Calvin was not of an implacable spirit; the current of his passions was not swollen with the sullen and interminable resentments of malice, but kindly affectionate towards the bitterest of his enemies when penitent. He therefore yielded promptly to his duty in visiting Troillet; and with the utmost benevolence consoled and supported him, in the distress of his departing moments. The confession of Troillet, who had so long laboured to injure him, must have afforded the mind of Calvin a double satisfaction, as a testimony of his ministerial integrity, and an evidence of the repentance and peace of a former enemy.

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* See Tract. Theol. p. 603.

The Republick and Church of Geneva were much endangered by the feverish malice of the factious, which was now hastening to a crisis. With the increase of their numbers, the hope of ultimate success was strengthened, and they became outrageous with clamours and threats against the friends of liberty, and the laws which restrained the licentious. They procured the re-enactment of the old edicts for the appointment of Senators, which however operated, providentially, in favour of the supporters of order. They removed some of the Senators; and ordered, on the ground of pretended fear, all arms to be taken from the exiles resident in the city, giving them permission only to wear their swords when without the walls. Every thing appeared to be yielding before them, in their progress towards the accomplishment of the object, which they had so long and so violently pursued without success.

Amid the accumulating contentions of the faction of Perrin, Bertilier and Balthazar, Michel Servetus, author of a heresy against the true Godhead of the scriptures, came to Geneva. Having for more than twenty years wandered from place to place as a Physician, spreading his blasphemies under the name of Michel Villeneuve, he at length published a tedious volume at Vienne in Dauphiny. This work was printed by Arnollet of Lyons, and the proof sheets were revised by William Geurot, who had been concerned in the faction of Geneva, and retired to Lyons to escape the punishment due to him for lewdness and other crimes. Servetus, having filled his book with blasphemies, was, on the report of the book censors, apprehended at Vienne, and sentenced to death, for the heresies of his work, and on his own confession at his trial. According to the sentence of the Popish tribunal, he was to be burnt alive on the 17th of June.* He escaped from his prison, and after wandering about Italy for some time, to elude the vigilance of the Papists, he was at length driven, by his unfavourable auspices, to Geneva. By the advice of Calvin, Nicholas de la Fontain accused him of heresy and blasphemy; and one of the Syndicks ordered him to be apprehended and conducted to prison, on the 13th of August. Subsequent to the articles of charge being substantiated against him before the Senate, the Popish Magistrates of Vienne demanded him to be given up to them as their prisoner. After his escape from Vienne, he was burnt in effigy with five bales of his books, on the 17th of June, the day on which the sentence of death was to have been executed. The Senate of Geneva put it to the choice of Servetus, whether he would return to Vienne, as the Papists demanded, or abide their decision. He preferred to abide the consequences of a judgment at Geneva. At this time, he perfectly well understood, that the laws of that Republick, enacted against hereticks by the Emperour Frederick II.,† when it was under the imperial jurisdiction, were still in force; and that by these laws his sentence must be governed at Geneva. But the following letters and extracts will exhibit, in the best manner, the progress and issue of the trial of this unhappy man, who was, after all their generous labours to reclaim him, sentenced to be burnt, which sentence was executed on the 27th of October, 1553.

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* Life of Servetus, London edit. 1724.

† Mosh. Vol. 4, p. 171.

"CALVIN TO FAREL, wishes health.

"It is as you say, my Farel. Though we are tossed here and there, by many severe storms, yet the master who governs the ship, in which we are borne along, will never permit us to perish by shipwreck in the midst of the sea. There is no reason, therefore, for our minds to be overwhelmed with fear or fatigue. We have now new employment with Servetus. He thought perhaps to pass through this city. For what purpose he came here is not yet known; but being recognized, I supposed he ought to be detained. My Nicholas challenged him to a capital trial, offering himself *in pœnam talionis.* The next day he publickly alleged forty articles of accusation. At first the heretick was evasive. We were therefore called. He roughly reviled me, as conscious to himself of his crimes. I received him as he deserved. *At length the Senate pronounced all the articles to be proved.* Nicholas was dismissed from prison on the third day, my brother having given bail for him, and on the fourth he was released. I shall say nothing of the impudence of the man. But so great was his rage, that he did not hesitate to declare the Godhead to be in the devils. Nay more, that several Gods were in each; because the Deity was substantially communicated to them as well as to wood and stone. I hope at least the sentence will be capital, *but I desire the severity of the punishment to be remitted.* My Colleagues salute you, with Budeus and Normandius who has recovered his health. Salute Claudius in my name.

"GENEVA, August 20, 1553."

"Calvin to Sulcer, wishes health.

"The name of Michel Servetus, who has, for these twenty years past, infected the Christian world with his virulent and pernicious dogmas, cannot, I suppose, be unknown to you. If you have not read his book, it can hardly be but that you must have heard something concerning his kind of doctrine. This is he of whom that faithful minister of Christ, Bucer of sacred memory, who was endowed with a mild and forbearing disposition, declared in the pulpit, that he ought to have his bowels taken out and scattered. From the first he has not ceased to spread his poison, and has lately caused to be privately printed at Vienne a larger volume, made up of the same errours. The fact being known, he was thrown into prison, from which he escaped, I know not in what manner, and after wandering about Italy for almost four months, he was at length driven, by his unfavourable auspices, to this city. One of the Syndicks, at my request, ordered him to be committed to prison. And I do not conceal, that I thought it my duty to do all in my power, to restrain this more than obstinate and ungovernable man, lest the contagion should continue to spread. We see how licentiously impiety every where thickens, and new errours are springing up from this fountain; and still there is a great indifference among those, whom God has armed with the sword to vindicate the glory of his name. While the Papists are so eager and zealous to protect their superstitions, that with atrocious cruelty they shed the blood of the innocent, Christian Magistrates should blush at their own coldness in defending the real truth. I confess that there is nothing more inconsistent than that we should imitate their excessive fury. But there are certain bounds to moderation; lest the impious be allowed to utter, with impunity, whatever blasphemies they please against God, when there is the power of restraining them. In the case of this man three things are to be considered: *First*, With what monstrous errours he has corrupted every doctrine of religion; with what detestable derision he has laboured to destroy all piety; with what foul inventions he has entangled Christianity, and overturned all the principles of our religion. *Secondly*, With what obstinacy he has conducted himself; with what diabolical pride he has despised all admonitions; with what inexorable headiness he has been precipitated to spread his poison. *Thirdly*, With what arrogance he this day asserts his abominations. He is so very distant *from the hope of repentance*, that he does not hesitate to fix this stain upon those holy men, Capito and Œcolampadius, that they had been associated with him in the same opinions. When the letters of Œcolampadius were shown to him, he said that he wondered by what spirit he had been led to abandon his original sentiments. But as I trust you will take care that the impiety of this man be represented in its proper colours, I will add no more. I will only inform you, that the Questor of the city, who will deliver you this letter, is sincere in this business, and will not turn aside from the object we desire. I wish your old disciples were animated in the same manner. I say nothing of the affairs in France, as I presume we have no news, but what is equally known to you; except that on the last Saturday, three pious brethren were burnt at Lyons, and a fourth sent to a neighbouring town, to undergo a similar punishment. It is scarcely credible, with what light of the Holy Spirit of God such illiterate men were instructed in the perfection of Christian doctrine, as the event testified, and with what fortitude and invincible constancy they were supported. One of them, overpowered by fear, at first swerved from a sincere confession of his faith. Yet when he was assured, that the judges would absolve him, he declared his base dissimulation, and offered himself with readiness to the flames. In other parts of France also, similar burnings prevail, nor is there any hope of their being assuaged. Farewell.

"GENEVA, September 9, 1553."

In a letter to the Pastors of Frankfort, Calvin informs them of the fact, that a large number of copies of the work of Servetus, printed at Vienne, were carried by a huckster to the fair of Frankfort, but being a pious man, when he discovered the impiety of the books, he suppressed them. He informs them, that Servetus was retained in prison at Geneva, by the Magistracy, and says, "It is your duty to endeavour to prevent this pestilential poison from spreading any farther.—The messenger will inform you of the number of the books, and the name of the bookseller with whom they are deposited, who will, if I mistake not, suffer them to be burnt.—I trust you are resolute enough to purify the world from this abomination. It is sufficient that I inform you of the fact.——Geneva, August 26, 1553."

"FAREL TO CALVIN, salutem dicit.

"That Normandius has regained his former health, and that the Marquis is returned from Italy, I congratulate both them and you also. Besides, I have good reason to covet the happy condition of the pious matron, who is freed from the evils with which we are struggling, and now has the privilege to be and live with Christ. It is a wonderful dispensation of divine Providence, concerning Servetus, that he went to your city. I wish he may be wise even late. It would be a miracle indeed, if he should meet death seriously converted to the Lord, and die but once who has deserved a thousand deaths; if he should now strive to edify all the living, who has laboured earnestly to injure many who are now dead, and many yet alive, and even to poison posterity. The judges will be very cruel and injurious to Christ, and the doctrine of piety, and enemies of the true Church, if they are not moved by the horrible blasphemies of this impious heretick, by which he attacks the divine majesty, and labours to weaken the influence of the Gospel of Christ, and to corrupt all the Churches. But I hope God will grant that those, who are praised for the just punishments inflicted on thieves and sacrilegious persons, may so conduct themselves in this affair, as to preserve their merited reputation, by removing him who has so long obstinately persevered in his heresies, and ruined so many of his fellow-mortals. By wishing to mitigate the severity of the punishment, you discharge the office of a friend towards your greatest enemy. But I entreat you to manage this business so that no one hereafter shall dare rashly to advance new dogmas, and throw every thing into confusion with impunity, so long as this man has done. You see the arrogant heretick Bolseck who, though so often convicted, cannot be reduced to order. The indulgence rather than the justice of the judges, while they neglect their duty, not only hurts and ruins him, but many others. These things, however, do not escape you, and I have no occasion to mention them to you. But as we complain of many other things, why not of this also? Many are inclining to the heresy of the Catabaptists,* who, as they are chiefly the most abandoned men, deny that the wicked ought to be punished, in order that they may with impunity teach and practise their own abominations. They would have hereticks no otherwise dealt with, than that they be permitted to go at large; as if there was no difference between the office of a Pastor and that of a Magistrate. If the Pope condemn the pious as hereticks, and his furious judges unjustly inflict on the innocent what is due to hereticks, what madness is it to collect from their abuse, that hereticks are not to be punished, that the righteous may be in security? Truly in this unheard of mode of reasoning, they would provide for themselves and others, in a way different from that in which all the servants of the Lord have trodden, that they might join themselves to hereticks. When I have read the passage where Paul says, *If I have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die*, I have really thought that I should be willing to meet the sentence of death, if I should teach any thing contrary to the doctrine of righteousness. I have also added farther, that I should be worthy any punishment, if I should lead others astray from the faith and doctrine of Christ. And I am not able to judge concerning others any thing different from what I determine in my own case.—Farewell, and with you all the pious.—It is wonderful how enraged Satan is and all his, that you are not dead before this time. I read to-day a letter to one of the brethren, in which it was mentioned that you were dead; and that before your departure, you went to Fribourg, and sending for a Priest confessed to him that you had greatly erred. So let these Popish tricks remain and hold their place, and let the Mass-Priests, and the whole pontifical dregs learn, how true all those reports are which they spread with shameless impudence. Not only the old Pontiffs, but the young ones, and the two-fold Monks, are ready to burst with rage that you continue to live. May Christ give all a better understanding, and preserve you and that Church, and enrich it with an increased number of believers, with gifts and heavenly blessings. I desire that your colleagues and all the pious may be in health. My brother colleagues, Casper and Claudius, wish you health.

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* Persons opposed to baptism.

"NEUFCHATEL, September 8, 1553."

"BULLINGER TO CALVIN, wishes health.

"MY DEAR BROTHER—The Lord has indeed provided the means, through the most convenient occasion, for your most illustrious Senate to purge itself and the Church from the plague and pollution of heresy, while he has given into their hands Servetus, the Spaniard. A great part of the Christian world know him, either from the blasphemous books published concerning the errours of the Trinity; or from those merely Jewish which he published for the justification of his works. You judge in his last book published, that he has surpassed himself in impiety. If therefore your illustrious Senate measure back to him, what is due to a blaspheming reviler, the whole world will see that the Genevese hate blasphemers, and that those hereticks, who obstinately persist in heresy, are to be punished by the sword of justice, and that the glory of the divine majesty is to be vindicated. But if they should not do this, it will not be your duty to desert that Church to others, and so administer the occasion of evils. Contend with intrepidity, trusting in God through Christ;—implore his counsel and assistance, that he may deliver you. We will assist you by our earnest prayers. *Vive et vale*, live and farewell.

"September 14, 1553, ZURICH."

After the Senate had declared the charges to be proved against Servetus, *he appealed** to the opinions of the four Swiss Churches, to whom the Senate forwarded the charges, proofs and replies, with his book. The following letter is the answer of the Ministers of the Church of Zurich:—

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* Deinde quum ille provocaret ad alias Ecclesias.——Opuscula Calvini, p. 523.

"THE MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH OF ZURICH, TO THE EXCELLENT SYNDICKS AND HONOURABLE SENATE OF THE GENEVESE REPUBLICK, OUR TRULY RESPECTED LORDS, wishing health.

"We have received, by the messenger, the letter of your Excellencies, together with the book of Servetus and the articles selected from it, and also the written conference between our dear and venerable brethren, your Ministers, and Michel Servetus. As your piety required of us to examine all of them with diligence, and give our opinion on those points; in compliance with your request we will, by the assistance of God, explain to you, with as much precision and perspicuity as we are able, what we think and teach concerning the Unity and Trinity of the Godhead, and the mystery of the Son of God; and our opinion of the controversy or writings of the Ministers of your Church and of Servetus. We doubt not, that the adorable mystery of the Unity and Trinity of the ever blessed God has been firmly believed by all holy persons, from the beginning of the world, and has been delivered to posterity to be faithfully believed by them, and has been evidently asserted in the scriptures by the true Prophets inspired by the Holy Ghost. Therefore, this first and fundamental principle of true theology is so proved by the oracles of God, so confirmed by evident signs, and received by the unanimous consent of the catholick and orthodox Church of the Old and New Testament, that it has been always considered a most heinous sin even to call it in question. We therefore confess, with the holy and universal Church of God, that there is but one Essence of God, and three distinct Persons, not to be confounded. For the Father, speaking from heaven concerning his Son, says, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* The Son is he to whom the Father gave testimony. But the Holy Spirit appeared under the form of a Dove. These are three distinct Persons in one divine Essence. Before the Council of Nice, arose Praxeas, Noetius and Sabellius, called by the ancients Patripassians, and confounded the distinction of Persons to preserve the Unity of God. But they were learnedly and irresistibly refuted by the Pastors of the Church, who maintained from the scriptures, and preserved in the Church, that the mystery of the triune Unity of God was to be adored. Hence we perceive, that in the Nicene Council, the Pastors of the Church transmitted to us in their creed nothing, but what the catholick and orthodox Church had retained from the time of the Apostles, and even of the Prophets. When therefore Servetus the Spaniard so often calls the eternal Trinity of God, *a triple monster, a three headed Cerberus, imaginary Gods, and finally visionary and three spirited devils*, he wickedly and most horribly blasphemes against the eternal majesty of God. By calling Athanasius, Augustine and other excellent servants of God, and illustrious lights of the Church, *Trinitarians*, that is *Atheists*, for so he calls all those who acknowledge a Trinity, he reviles, with unjust and insufferable reproach, not only those, but the whole order of holy men, and also the whole Church of God. But that which appears in this unhappy man is to be abhorred, that he should excuse the blasphemies uttered by the Jews against the Christian religion, and should approve and praise the abusive words of the Mahometans, that three Persons in the Trinity, or, as he says, three Gods, were unknown to the Fathers, and are the Sons of Beelzebub. What could this man belch forth more impious against God, or against the holy Christian faith? And we pray you, what Christian ears can patiently hear these things? The Church of God has, from the beginning, believed and uniformly taught, that the Son of God subsisted from all eternity in his own Person, for the

Church had been taught this by the word of God. Christ himself most openly in the Gospel declares, *Before Abraham was*, I AM. Certainly the substance, not of the flesh indeed, but of the Godhead; according to which the Apostle calls him, *the express image of the Father's Person*—and at the same time, he quotes this passage from the Old Testament, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* This Son of glory, Son from eternity, true God, in time was made the Son of man—true man, born not of the substance of God the Father, but from the substance of Mary his virgin mother, whom God overshadowed by his Spirit. Hence this Son is called the blessed seed of the woman, the offspring of David, and the Son of man. But he remains in one undivided Person, having at the same time two distinct and unconfounded natures, divine and human. This is so evidently proved, both formerly and now, from the perspicuous and manifest testimonies of scripture, that whoever doubts it plays the fool with his reason. We therefore in simplicity, and with one mind, firmly believe, what we have now declared, and we preach these doctrines to the Church entrusted to our care. Servetus is therefore again guilty of blasphemy against the Son of God, when he impudently rails at the *hypostasis* of the Son, existing from eternity, coequal and coessential with the Father, as a diabolical idea and fabulous chimera. And over and above this, he dares assert, that the Father of the body of the Son was no other than God the Father himself, from whose substance the flesh of the Son was formed. Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, taught far otherwise, and said, *That the Son of God was begotten of the seed of David according to the flesh; and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness.* But why should we proceed to enumerate the single blasphemies of this man? The faithful and learned Pastors of your Church have diligently and honestly collected some of his most enormous errours and avowed heresies, in the work entitled, *The opinions or propositions selected from the book of Michel Servetus.* We neither find them selected nor designated by a spirit of calumny. Neither do we in any manner receive or approve them, but wholly execrate them. For Servetus, in his answer immediately subjoined, does not explain but involves the subject in obscurity; and at the same time corrupts the opinions of many of the ancients concerning the Unity and Trinity of God, and also the mystery of the Son of God, which is plainly evinced in the very apposite answer of the Ministers of your Church. The reply or gloss of Servetus contains little else than extreme impudence, and detestable outrage. For he so often throws out against Calvin his *mentiris*, you lie, and calls him so often magician and Simon Magus, that the bare remembrance of it grieves us, and makes us blush for him: Especially since his work speaks out for itself, and what he has written when fairly examined testifies that Calvin invented nothing, but that Servetus rather denies and covers with a gloss those things which he had said. We trust that the fidelity and diligence of our brother Calvin, your Pastor, and his distinguished merit with the exiles and pious, will be too illustrious to be obscured, by the mean and detestable criminations of that man, either with your Excellencies or any other good men. And your Excellencies readily acknowledge, and declare in your letter, which gives us great pleasure, that you do not ask our opinion, because you distrust the Ministers of your Church, but merely to obtain our sentiments on these subjects. But in what manner you will restrain this man, who has renewed the heresies formerly confuted and condemned by the Church, as repugnant to the scriptures, and has made war upon the first and fundamental articles of our faith, and in attacking these insults God and his saints, we leave to your prudence to determine. If we are not deceived by the similarity of the names, this Servetus stirred up this great evil twenty years ago, and Doctor John Œcolampadius, of blessed memory, endeavoured to bring him back to the right way; and even at that time the doctrine of Servetus was condemned by those who first preached the Gospel in those parts. He however, tenacious of his own opinions, in the year 1531, caused to be printed in Germany seven books concerning the errours of the Trinity, and other treatises in the form of dialogues, which undoubtedly drove many, who were little versed in the scriptures, and wavering in their faith, to plunge themselves into imminent danger of soul and body. With this however, he was not satisfied; but having selected the most pestilential errours and insufferable blasphemies, he proceeds to outdo even himself in impiety and blasphemy, and to obtrude the most corrupt doctrine under the form of *The Restitution of the Christian Church.* We therefore judge, that great fidelity and diligence are requisite against this man, especially as our Churches are evilly reported abroad, as being heretical, and as favouring hereticks. The holy Providence of God has, in the present case, presented you with the opportunity of clearing yourselves and us from the perverse suspicion of this evil; and we doubt not but that your Excellencies will be vigilant, and promptly take care, that the contagion of this poisonous man spread no farther by his means. The Lord Jesus Christ grant to your piety, wisdom and fortitude, the way, manner and righteous means of doing his will, for the glory of his name, and the faithful preservation of the pure doctrines of the Church. At the same time, we all offer your Excellencies our services, and commend ourselves to you for that purpose. We have detained your messenger three days, because we were not able sooner to explain our sentiments.

"Your Excellencies' most devoted servants,

"The Pastors and Lectors, Ministers of the Church of Zurich.

"Zurich, October 2, 1553."

The Ministers of the other Swiss Churches, Schaffhausen, Bern and Basil, returned answers very similar to that from Zurich.

"Calvin to Farel, wishes health.

"I shall now treat you in some measure as you do me; and instead of a letter, give you a breviculum, a mere sketch, which will not occupy much of your time. The messenger has returned from the Helvetick Churches. All unite, with one consent, in declaring that Servetus has at once revived all the impious errours with which Satan formerly troubled the Church, and that the monster is intolerable. The answer of the Ministers of Basil is judicious. That of Zurich, the most decisive of all. The atrocity of his impieties is strongly described by them, and they exhort our Senate to severity. To their opinion the Ministers of Schaffhausen subscribe. To the pertinent letter of the Bernese Ministers, their Senate has added a letter, by which our Senate is greatly animated. *Comical Cæsar*, having feigned sickness for three days, at length came into the Senate-room, that he might discharge this wicked man from punishment. Nor did he blush to ask that the trial should be removed to the Council of two hundred. However, he was condemned, *sine controversia*, without hesitancy. He will be led to punishment to-morrow. *We endeavoured to commute the kind of death, but in vain.* Why we could effect nothing in his favour, I will inform you at our interview. Farewell, most faithful brother and excellent Minister of Christ. May God preserve and direct you always. Health to all friends. Ours salute you again.

"GENEVA, October 26, 1553."

"THE JUDGMENT OF THE SYNDICKS AND SENATORS, PRONOUNCED UPON MICHEL SERVETUS.

"We, Syndicks, Judges of criminal causes in this city, having witnessed the process made and instituted against you, on the part of our Lieutenant, in the aforesaid causes, instituted against you, Michel, of Villeneuve, in the kingdom of Arragon, in Spain, in which your voluntary confessions in our hands, made and often reiterated, and the books before us produced, plainly shew, that you, Servetus, have published false and heretical doctrines; and also, despising all remonstrances and corrections, have, with a perverse inclination, sown and divulged them in a book published against God the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit; in sum against all the true foundations of the Christian religion, and have thereby tried to introduce trouble and schism into the Church of God, by which many souls may have been ruined and lost—things horrible, frightful, scandalous and infectious; and have not been ashamed to set yourself in array against the divine Majesty and the holy Trinity; but rather have obstinately employed yourself in infecting the world with your heresies and offensive poison; a case and crime of heresy grievous and detestable, and deserving corporal punishment. For these and other just reasons moving us, and being desirous to purge the Church of God from such infection, and to cut off from it so rotten a member, having had good counsel from others, and having invoked the name of God, that we may make a right judgment; sitting upon the tribunal of our predecessours, having God and the holy scriptures before our eyes, saying, in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, by that definitive sentence which we here give by this writing—you, Michel Servetus, are condemned to be bound and led to the Champel,* and there fastened to a stake, and burned alive with the book written with your hand and printed, until your body shall be reduced to ashes, and your days thus finished as an example to others, who might commit the same things; and we command you, our Lieutenant, to put this our sentence into execution.—— Read by the Chief Syndick, De Arlord."†

Extracts from the refutation of the errours of Michel Servetus, drawn up by Calvin, with the assistance of the other Ministers of the Genevese Republick.

In this work the propositions in proof of the heresy and blasphemy of Servetus are stated, his answers and the reply to them, &c. &c. &c. And the question discussed, Whether it is lawful for Christian Magistrates to punish hereticks? The affirmative is maintained by Calvin, and subscribed by all the Ministers,‡ as follows:

John Calvin,
Abel Pouppinus,
James Bernard,
Nicholas Galasius,
Francis Borgonius,
Nicholas Little,
Raymond Calvet,
Matthew Malesian,
Michael Cope,
John Pyrery,
John de St. Andrew,
John Baldwin,
John Faber,
John Macarius,
Nicholas Colladonius.

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* The Champel was a small eminence, about a quarter of a mile from the walls of Geneva.

† Life of Servetus, London edit. 1774.

‡ See Tractatus Theologici Calvini, p. 511—597.

Extract, No. 1.

"As long as there was any hope of recalling him to a right mind, I did not, *says Calvin*, cease to afford all my assistance in private to effect it. But not to detain the reader with doubtful narrations, I will simply mention what he confessed to be true, only two hours before his death, in the presence of many witnesses. As he requested a conference with me, two Senators were sent, who accompanied me to the prison. Being asked, what he desired, he answered, *that he begged my pardon.* I ingenuously observed, that I never had pursued any private injuries;—that as much as I was able I had admonished him with mildness;—that I had, sixteen years ago, offered my assistance to cure him, even at the imminent danger of my life;—that it was by no means my fault, that he had not repented, and received the hand of fellowship from all the pious;—that I had without ever exposing him, patiently dealt with him by private letters;—finally, that I had omitted towards him no office of benevolence, until so much enraged by my free remonstrances, he poured forth not the spirit of passion, so much as the fury of madness. But ceasing to speak of myself, I entreated him to think rather of asking forgiveness of the eternal God, against whom he had been so atrociously insolent, by endeavouring to blot out the three Persons from his Essence, and calling him the three headed Cerberus; as if an *essential* distinction was established between the Father, and his Son, and Spirit.—That he should resolutely seek to be at peace with the Son of God, whom he had deformed by his foul inventions, and by denying him to be like us in that flesh which he assumed, and breaking the bond of fraternal union, he had denied at the same time the only Redeemer. But as my entreaties and admonitions availed nothing, I would not presume to be wise above the rule of my master. For, according to the direction of Paul, I departed from the man who is an heretick, *and sinneth, being* αὐτοκατάκριτος, *condemned of himself.*——— ———I wish the errours of Servetus were buried. But while I hear that they are spreading, I cannot be silent without incurring the guilt of perfidy. The object of this work, however, is more immediately to give the reason for the punishment of that man. For those things which were done by the Senate, are by many ascribed to me. Nor do I at all dissemble, that by my influence and advice, he was by the civil power, committed to prison. For having received the freedom of this city, I was bound to impeach him if guilty of any crime. I confess that I prosecuted the cause thus far. From the time that the articles were proved against him, I never uttered a word concerning his punishment. To this fact all good men will bear me witness; and I challenge the wicked to produce whatever they know. But how far I proceeded is not of so much consequence, as that I ought to refute in this publick work, the calumny invented to asperse me by turbulent, foolish or malicious men and drunkards."———

Tractatus Theologici Calvini, p. 511.

EXTRACT, No. 2.

"As Servetus was sentenced to be burnt by the Papists at Vienne, the enemies of Calvin took occasion to accuse him of being the cause of his apprehension in that city.——— Nothing was less becoming me, say they, than that I should expose Servetus to the professed enemies of Christ, as to huge beasts. For they affirm, that it was by my means, that he was taken at Vienne, in the Province of Lyonnois. But whence this my so sudden familiarity with the inquisitors of the Pope? Whence this great influence with them? Is it credible, that letters should pass freely to and from those, who are as much at variance as Christ and Belial? It is useless to spend words in refuting this calumny, which is broken to pieces and falls by a simple denial.———— If indeed what they falsely object to me, was a fact, I do not see any reason why I should deny it; since I do not dissemble, that it was by my means, that he was seized in this city, and required to defend his cause. Let malevolent and slanderous men object what they please, I offer myself beforehand, and freely confess, (for according to the laws of this city the man could not be justly treated otherwise,) that the accuser proceeded at my request; that the formula was dictated by my advice; by which some entrance was made upon the cause. But what my design then was, is evident from the progress of the action. *When my Colleagues and myself were summoned*, it was by no means our fault that he did not confer peaceably and freely with us concerning his dogmatisms. We in fact proceeded as in chains to give the reason of our faith, and informed him that we were prepared to answer his objections. It was then that, with swollen cheeks, he poured forth upon me such reproaches, as made the judges themselves ashamed and grieved for him.—I avoided all railing at him. *And had he been in any manner curable, he would have been in no danger of any weightier punishment.* But he was so entirely destitute of moderation, that, filled with boasting and ferocity, he petulantly rejected with scorn all wholesome and useful advice. But the execrable and absurd blasphemies which he uttered, during the conversation, may perhaps be related elsewhere with more propriety. This only for the present will I declare, that I was not so inveterate against him, *but that he might have redeemed his life, by mere moderation,* if he had not been destitute of reason. I know not what I shall say, unless that he was so seized with this fatal madness, that he threw himself headlong into ruin. *Eight* *days* after, I was again summoned; and the opportunity was again given him of a free conference with us. He formed an excuse, that he was prevented by his grief and anxiety. But whatever books he requested I freely lent him, partly from my own library, and partly from others. It is therefore a probable suspicion, that he was encouraged from some others, with a vain confidence, which destroyed him. ———— ————I trust that my moderation will be evident to all good men, unless indeed it should seem to be effeminacy. But, as if he had taken new draughts of a poisonous humour, he proceeded to insert, in all the books he could obtain of mine, his insulting reproaches, so that he left no page free from his purulent vomiting. Concerning this, at that time, I thought it best to be silent, and my intimate friends know that I was entirely unruffled by his ungenerous insults."————

Tractatus Theologici Calvini, p. 517.

Extract, No. 3.

"By mutilating the word of God in a foul manner, he manifestly proved that all religion was equal to him, only provided that he could indulge himself after his own petulancy. Moreover, we entertain such a judgment of that man, who held only one object professedly, that he took no pleasure in reviling any traditions concerning religion, unless he could, through their obscurity, erase from the memories of men all belief of the Godhead. While his arrogance called up all the most violent heresies, yet he added and mixed up with them a certain rashness of intemperate zeal. The life of Servetus was too dissolute, to lead any one to suppose, that he was driven by mere errour to disturb the Church. He had indeed never hesitated to subscribe to the substance of the grossest superstition; but with this great liberality, he had never given much care to present himself as a worshipper of God. When he was therefore asked in prison, by the Judges, from what reason he was so zealous concerning all innovations in religion? he was speechless. Nor had he any thing to say, unless that he took the liberty to be bold in sacred things, as if to trifle with God. In his trial, he evinced his impiety in the most evident manner. He declared all creatures were of the personal substance of God, and that all things were full of Gods; for in this manner he did not blush deliberately to speak and write. We were wounded with indignation and asked him, miserable man! What? If any one trampling on this pavement should say, that he trampled on your God, would you not be ashamed at so great an absurdity? He said, I do not doubt but that this bench, and whatever you see, is the substance of God. When it was objected, then the devil will be substantially God; he burst into a deriding laugh, and said, Do you doubt this? This is my general principle—All things spring from the stock of God, and all nature is the substantial Spirit of God.——The volume of Ptolomy's Geography was introduced; in the preface to which, Servetus had admonished his readers, that the scripture account of the great fruitfulness of the land of Judea, was mere boasting; as the testimony of travellers proved it to be uncultivated, barren, and destitute of every pleasant thing. He first said that this was written by another. So bold a cavil was promptly refuted, and by this means he was demonstrated to be a publick impostor. Reduced to this strait, he defended it as correctly written. He was asked if he was vain enough to suppose any authority was superior to Moses? He said others had written besides Moses.—It was replied, certainly, and they all agree with Moses, who was the most ancient. How great is the crime of the man who would deceive posterity by falsehood? Who was it that said, It was a land that flowed with milk and honey? And it was added, That the land was now a testimony of the righteous judgment of God, formerly threatened against the Jews, as is described in Psalm cvii. 33, 34. The Senate and many other distinguished persons witnessed, that when he was convicted of impiety against the scriptures, he slily rubbed his face and said, there was no evil in all this; and though convicted he made no acknowledgment. Entrusted by the printer of the Bible in Latin, at Lyons, with revising the proof sheets, he cheated the printer out of 500 francs, adding his polluted notes, &c. He perverted most wickedly the 53d chapter of Isaiah, stating that the sufferings described—*were the mournings for Cyrus, who had died to take away the sins of the people.*——I omit that when Servetus pretended to have the suffrage of Nicholas Lyranus,* (in favour of his false glosses upon Isaiah) the book was brought; and though convicted of falsehood, he did not blush. It was a common thing with him, boldly to quote from books he had never seen. Of this he gave a specimen laughable enough in Justin Martyr. He magnificently boasted, that Martyr, in his *Golden Age*, had not mentioned the fables of the Trinity and Persons. I immediately ordered the volume to be brought, and pointed out with my finger certain places, in which that holy man had as openly asserted our faith, as if he had written at our request. But he could no more read the Greek language than a boy learning his A, B, C. Finding himself basely caught, he peevishly asked for the Latin translation, to be handed him. How happens this, said I, since there is no Latin translation extant, and you cannot read Greek, that you should yet pretend yourself to have read so familiarly the works of Justin? Whence then did you obtain those testimonies which you indulge yourself in quoting so liberally? He, as he was accustomed, with a brazen front, passed quickly to another subject, without the least sign of shame.—————————But that wicked and hardened men may not boast of this frantick man as a martyr, on account of his obduracy, in his death there appeared such a brutal stupidity, as justifies the opinion, that he never acted at all seriously in religion. After the sentence of death was pronounced upon him, at one time he stood like a person astonished, at another he gave deep sighs, and at others he shrieked like one affrighted by apparitions; and this increased upon him, till he continually cried out, in the manner of the Spaniards, Mercy! Mercy! When he was brought to the place of punishment, our brother and Minister, Farel, with difficulty extorted from him, by earnest exhortation, his consent that the assembly should unite with him in prayer. And truly, I do not see by what principle he should consent to have those do this, concerning whom he had written with his own hand, that they were ruled by a diabolical faith; that they had no Church, no God, and that because they baptized infants, they denied Christ himself.——————But Farel exhorted the people to supplicate for him, and expressly, that the Lord would have mercy on this man, and would lead him back from his execrable errours, to a right mind, that he might not perish. In the mean time, although he gave no signs of repentance, he did not even attempt a word in the defence of his opinions. What, I ask, does this mean, that when placed under the hand of the executioner, and having *obstinately refused to invoke the eternal Son of God*, he did not, for he had the liberty, offer some defence at least?—— I think it is quite evident, that as long as he thought he could sport himself with impunity, he conducted himself with far too much audaciousness; but when the punishment due to his crimes was inflicted, he fell into despair.——But more than enough has been said concerning the man, other things shall be placed in their order, in the description of his dogmatisms, where the reader may determine whether the man himself, or the errour, is indifferent and sufferable, or a vast and deep ocean of impieties, which weaken our whole faith, and indeed in a great measure entirely destroy its foundation. I do not propose to lay open the whole mass of confused mixtures, for I perceive this would be to plunge into thickets of briars and thorns, and wander in endless labyrinths. It will be most useful to pursue the same compendious course, which we followed in the examination of the cause itself, that the nature of the doctrines being noted under distinct heads, the readers may perceive what monstrous things, no less detestable than multiform, are contained in his books. How various and continued was the verbal dispute, and then after this, he repeated that complaint, that it was improper to conduct the trial about religion in the prison; which I answered was true, and that I had from the beginning declared that nothing would be more grateful to me than that the points should be discussed in the house of worship, in the presence of all the people. Nor was there any reason why I should avoid the light and presence of the assembly, where the cause most worthy of approbation would be watched by candid hearers. After all this, however, HE APPEALED TO OTHER CHURCHES, *Ille provocaret ad alias Ecclesias.* This condition also was freely agreed to by me. Upon this our Senate, desirous to put an end to his prevarications, decreed that the propositions which I had selected from Servetus' books should be copied and given to him. By the same decree of the Senate, he was permitted to retract any thing which he should perceive that he had unjustly written; and if he found any thing unfairly perverted by us, he might refute it;—if he thought any of his opinions unjustly condemned, he might defend them from the word of God. And that there might be no needless delay, I transcribed every article to a word. He had as much time as he pleased to make out his answer to the propositions, while to us there was allowed no more than two days. And besides all this, as he expected that it would make his cause more plausible, if he made the closing defence, he again requested in writing, that this might be granted him, and he obtained this privilege also. But although he well understood, that the question to be decided was *de capite suo*, concerning his life, and that the neighbouring Churches were to be consulted, on whose answer would depend the weighty *previous sentence*,* yet how he continued to cavil, the readers will see, whom I would inform, lest there should be any suspicion, that there is not a single thing put down by me, in these propositions and replies, which was not lawfully sealed and entered on the publick records."———

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* One of the most celebrated commentators of the 14th century.

Tractatus Theologici Calvini, p. 522, 523.

The following extracts from letters, written by several eminent Reformers, show that they concurred in opinion with Calvin on the subject of punishing hereticks; and that they approved of his conduct in relation to Servetus:—

" Bullinger to Calvin.

" In all places there are good men who are of opinion, that impious and blasphemous hereticks are not only to be admonished and imprisoned, but also *capite esse mulctandos, to be punished with death.* Be not therefore discouraged that you have undertaken this labour. The Lord will assist your holy endeavours and studies. I know that you have not a cruel disposition, nor do you approve of any cruelty. And who does not know that there are proper limits to be fixed to this subject? I do not see how it was possible to have spared Servetus, that most obstinate man, the very hydra of heresy.

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* Whether the accusations were proved, and if proved, whether he was guilty of blasphemy.

"Zurich, June 12, 1554."

"Melancthon to Calvin.

"Reverend and dear brother, I have read your book, in which you have clearly refuted the horrid blasphemies of Servetus; and I give thanks to the Son of God, who was the βραβευτης, *the awarder of your crown of victory*, in this your combat. To you also the Church owes gratitude at the present moment, and will owe it to the latest posterity. I perfectly assent to your opinion. I affirm also that your Magistrates did right in punishing, after a regular trial, this blasphemous man.

"Oct. 14, 1554."

"Melancthon to Bullinger.

"Reverend and dear brother, —————— I have read your answer to the blasphemies of Servetus; and I approve of your piety and opinions, I judge also that the Genevese Senate did perfectly right, to put an end to this obstinate man, who could never cease blaspheming. And I wonder at those who disapprove of this severity.

"August 20th."

"Peter Martyr to Calvin.

"I would not have you be retired in this extremity. It bitterly grieves me and all good men, that against the truth and your name, they spread such foolish and false things, about the eternal election of God, and the punishment of hereticks with death.—But it is well, in what they write they dare not mention his (Servetus) name. As often as we are asked about this, both Zanchius and I defend your side of the question and the truth in publick and private, with all our strength.

"STRASBURG, May 9."

Martyr had just returned from England to Strasburg, of whom Bishop Jewel said, *that he was never to be named but with the highest respect and honour.*

From Allwoerden's life of Servetus, William Roscoe, in his history of the Pontificate of Leo X. vol. 4, p. 544. Amer. Ed. selects three Letters, said to be written by him, while in prison, and addressed to the Lords, Syndicks and Senators of Geneva. The third letter only is of any material importance. In this Servetus expresses his views on the subject of capitally punishing hereticks and blasphemers for their opinions. The following is a translation of that letter, made from the French, for insertion in this work:—

"My greatly honoured Lords, I am detained under a criminal accusation, on account of John Calvin, who has falsely accused me; saying that I had written:—

"First, *that all souls were mortal.*

"Secondly, *that Jesus Christ took from the Virgin Mary, only a fourth part of his body.*

"*These are horrible, and execrable things.* Among all other heresies, and all other crimes, there is none so great, as to make the soul mortal. In all others, there is some hope of salvation, but in this there is none. Whoever says it, does not believe, that there exists either God, or justice, or resurrection, or Jesus Christ, or holy scripture, or any thing; but all at death, man and beast, are both the same thing. If I had said that, not only said, but written and published it, to infect the world, *I should condemn myself to death.* Therefore, my Lords, I demand that my false accuser be punished *pœna talionis,* and be detained prisoner as I am, until the cause is determined by my death or his, or by some other punishment. For this I inscribe myself against him on the said *pœna talionis*; and *am contented to die*, if he is not convicted as well of this as of other things, which I shall allege against him. I demand justice of you, my Lords, justice, justice, justice.—Done in your prison at Geneva, this 22d of September, 1553.

"MICHEL SERVETUS, in his own behalf."

The Ministers of the Church of Geneva had selected thirty-eight propositions,* from the writings of Servetus, in proof of the accusation made against him of heresy and blasphemy, by Nicholas de la Fontaine. The first proposition is as follows:—

I. "Omnes qui Trinitatem statuunt in essentia Dei, esse Tritoitas, veros Atheos; nec Deum habere nisi tripartitum et aggregativum. Item habere connotativum Deum, non absolutum: imaginarios habere Deos, et illusiones dæmoniorum. Lib. 1, de Trinitate, pag. 30. Quibus respondet quod addit pagina sequenti: Somnia ut voles, dirige oculos ad phantasmata, et tunc videbis tuam Trinitatem non esse intelligibilem sine tribus phantasmatibus. Tandem concludit omnes Trinitarios esse Atheos."

In the preceding letter, Servetus mentions only two of the thirty-eight propositions, the nineteenth and thirty-eighth. The nineteenth respects the body of Jesus Christ, and is as follows:—

XIX. "Tria elementa esse ab utroque parente tam in Christo quam in nobis. Terream vero materiam esse a sola matre tam in Christo quam in generalibus omnibus. Unde sequitur illum non habuisse corpus nostro simile: id quod perinde est ac redemptionem nostram delere. Dial. 2, de Trinit. p. 250. Quod etiam plenius exprimit, lib. 5, de Trinit. p. 194, quum dicit in nobis solum esse elementa creata; in Christo esse creata et increata, et substantiam Spiritus Dei, ipsi carni substantialiter communicatam."

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* For the whole thirty-eight propositions, see Opuscula Calvini, pp. 523, 524.

The two first periods of this proposition read literally thus:—"Three elements are from each parent, so in Christ as in us! But the earthly matter is from the mother alone, so in Christ as in all universals." Here then it may be left with Mr. Roscoe, or any other advocate of Servetus, to explain how much more, in fact, than one fourth part of his body Servetus allowed the divine Redeemer to have derived from his virgin mother.

The following is the other proposition mentioned in the above letter:—

XXXVIII. "Animam redditam esse mortalem per peccatum, sicut caro mortalis est; non quod in nihilum anima redeat, sicut nec caro. Sed mori quando cum dolore vitalibus actionibus privatur, et inferno languem detinetur quasi non amplius victura. Lib. 4, de Regeneratione, p. 551. Deinde concludit regenitos aliam habere animam quam ante; propter substantiam innovatam, et novam Deitatem adjunctam. Pagina sequenti."

This proposition shall be literally translated.

"The soul becomes mortal by sin, so as the flesh is mortal; not that the soul returns into nothing, so as neither does the flesh. But at death, when with pain it is deprived of vital action, it is also detained languishing in hell, as no more to live. Book 4, on Regeneration, p. 551. From this he concludes, that the regenerated have another soul than that which they had before; on account of the substance changed, and the new Godhead joined to it. p. 552."

Who will not now say with Servetus, *That these are horrible and execrable things?* And who will not admit, that this man "said them, not only said, but wrote them, to infect the world?" And that therefore, according to his own sentence upon himself, *he deserved to die?* For the benefit of Mr. Roscoe, the testimony of Servetus, approving and justifying the punishment of hereticks with death, is now brought distinctly under his eye.

Although Mr. Roscoe appears somewhat at variance with himself, in the progress of his writings, and sometimes talks like a Papist, sometimes like a Protestant, and many times like neither, he appears nevertheless well pleased to strengthen his assertions by the names of Ecclesiasticks, more effectually to wound the cause of the Reformation. He cautiously intimates the fact, that Allwoerden wrote his life of Servetus, "at the instance of the learned Mosheim." Mosheim was a Lutheran, and the English translator of his ecclesiastical history, Dr. Maclaine, has repeatedly noticed the unfairness of that author, in his treatment of Calvin and the reformed Churches. While Luther is exalted with a bold pre-eminence, Zuinglius, Calvin and even Melancthon are thrown quite into the shade on the back ground of his history. It is also too evident, that Mosheim, in his account of Servetus and his opinions, has glossed the harshness of his blasphemies, and with no small address laboured to make him appear somewhat dignified in his errours. But the historian that could slight and pass over, as though nearly below notice, as Mosheim does, the learned Gaspard Peucer,* who, for openly professing the opinion of Calvin, was, by the rigid Lutherans, confined ten years in prison, must be suspected of some sinister design in procuring to be written, as well as in writing himself, the history of such a man as Servetus. The testimony of Mosheim is not therefore to be admitted, without caution, in any case which affects the Swiss reformed Churches, or their Ministers.

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* See Maclaine's note on Mosh. vol. 4, p. 49; and other notes in which he warns his reader that Mosheim was a Lutheran.

In his history of Leo, vol. 4, at p. 117, Mr. Roscoe has inserted a very laborious note, in which he has given full vent to his prejudices against the first Reformers. The reason for dropping his remarks in a note were doubtless because the burning of Servetus would not synchronize with the death of Leo; and to have thrown it to the end of the volume would have placed it, not so immediately under the notice of the reader. Mr. Roscoe is a living author, distinguished by the elegance of his writings, and as a member of Parliament from Liverpool. Eager to grasp Calvin, Melancthon and Bullinger, as the victims of publick prejudice, he has pressed himself into the path of the biographer of Calvin, and of course no other apology will be offered for the subsequent remarks.

Bishop Warburton, in his notes on Pope's Essay on Criticism, condemns Luther, Calvin and their followers, as ignorant of the principles of Christian charity; and at the same time commends Erasmus for his liberal sentiments. Under the shield of that gigantick Prelate, Mr. Roscoe introduces his ungenerous assertions, to wound the cause and the reputation of the Reformers. The Bishop however, who often, and sometimes with dignity, wandered out of the track of common sense, is unfortunate in noticing Erasmus, as an instance of any distinguished Christian tolerance. For it is a fact that Erasmus did maintain "in his Epistle* against some," (that is the Reformers at Basil,) "who falsely call themselves Evangelists, that there were certain cases in which they might *lawfully be punished capitally, as blasphemers and seditious persons*." *Quid autem vetat*, inquit, *ne Princeps hæreti-*

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* Rees' Cyclopedia, art. Eras. and Bayle.

cos turbantes publicam tranquillitatem e medio tollat?[*] No one of the Reformers ever contended for a power in the civil Magistracy more extensive than this for which Erasmus pleads. The duplicity of Erasmus should not be dignified by the term of toleration. For with all his wit and learning, and he had much of both, he was of a temporizing and vafrous mind, who did in his way much of the work of a Reformer, and still lived and died professedly a Papist.

"The execution of Servetus," says Mr. Roscoe, "is thus described in a *manuscript history*, cited by Allwoerden and published in 1728." He gives the quotation in the Latin. The translation is as follows;—"Servetus is fastened to a post fixed in the ground, with his feet reaching the earth; a wreath of straw or leaves is put upon his head and sprinkled with sulphur; his body is bound with iron chains to the stake, and the neck tied with a large heavy quadrupled or quintupled rope: The book is girt to his thigh: He asked the executioner whether he should torture him long? In the mean time the *Carnifex* moved the fire in his presence, and then round the circle. The man seeing the fire cried out so horribly, that he greatly terrified the multitude. When he had long languished, some of the people threw on hurdles, he crying out with a horrible voice, Jesu, *Fili Dei æterni*, miserere mei,—Jesus, Son of the *eternal God*, have mercy on me. After suffering about half an hour he expired."—This account of the execution of Servetus, made from a manuscript 170 years after the event, is of itself suspicious. Farel, and the other Ministers who were present at the Champel, laboured, previous to his execution, to have him shew some signs of repentance. Servetus, according to Beza,[†] said, *I confess that Christ is the Son of the eternal God*—Ego Christum æterni Dei filium esse fateor. Observing the subterfuge, they entreated him to acknowledge Christ, not only to be the Son of the eternal God, but *the eternal Son* of God. This he refused, and the Ministers of Geneva state, in their refutation of his errours, that he *obstinately refused to invoke the eternal Son of God*—Æternum Dei Filium invocare pertinaciter renueret. It is not probable therefore, that Servetus invoked the mercy even of the Son of the eternal God. It need only be added, not with the expectation of mollifying the bigoted virulence of those, who are most liberally credulous as it respects any thing that may wound religion, that it is not to be supposed that *the man invoked the mercy of the eternal Son of God, who had, in more than a hundred places in his printed books, boldly called the triune God a triple headed Cerberus—a phantom of devils—a Geryon monster,—an illusion of Satan.**

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[*] Beza de Hæreticis a magistratu puniendis. Tract. Theol. p. 95.

[†] De Hæreticis a magistratu puniendis—in Tract. Theol. p. 115.

Thus far Mr. Roscoe has shielded himself under the notes of Warburton, and the manuscript of Allwoerden. But this Knight-errant historian of Leo X. must now be noticed in a more mortifying attitude, as he advances to attack the first fathers of the Reformation, by his own personal and naked assertions. Forgetting every thing but "their violence," he follows up his favourite description of the burning of Servetus with a position unbecoming a historian, who would secure to himself the confidence of his readers. In his quixotick adventure against "protestant priests," he deliberately writes and publishes—"*What* CALVIN *did not scruple to* PERFORM, MELANCTHON *and* BULLINGER *did not hesitate to* APPROVE." The mind that has the least savour of candour, that possesses even the tolerance of Erasmus, must revolt at this historian's intemperate "*calumny against the truth of history.*" Reproachful aspersions, when uttered by a person of a low character, whose word attaches to itself some special discredit, may be permitted to pass with indifference, as carrying with them their own refutation. But when William Roscoe, the historian, writes that Calvin was the executioner of Servetus, he can have no plea in bar of a full exposure, as asserting that, for the truth of which he has neither given, nor can give any proof. In following him through his quotations to shew, that Melancthon and Bullinger *approved* of what Calvin *performed*, the burning of Servetus, he is found, with shallow and petulant minds, picking up the very dirt of slander and malicious irony; and too restless to stay his pen, with "such were the sentiments of the *mild and candid* Melancthon," he presses on to close the climax of his note, by profanely quoting an expression from the scriptures, "and such the *first-fruits* of the *reformation.*"

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* Plus centum locis, says the statement of the Genevese Ministers, Trinitas simpliciter ab eo vocatur triceps Cerberus, diabolicum phantasma, Geryonis monstrum, illusio Satanæ, et quid non? Tract. Theol. Cal. p. 549.

Geryonis monstrum.—Geryon a King of Spain divided his kingdom into three parts, and was fabled to have three bodies.—Ainsworth.

Mr. Roscoe is now calmly asked, for there is no unpleasant apprehension respecting the answer he can give, in what volume, and at what page is the testimony to be found, that proves Calvin to have been even *instrumental in procuring the burning* of Servetus? Mr. Roscoe will not, it is presumed, even pretend, that Calvin was present at the place of execution, or that he saw, at any remote distance, the dismal spectacle. The most favourable construction, which his words will admit, is that Calvin was the means, that it was through his influence and personal exertions, that Servetus was tied to the stake, and suffered the punishment of burning. Is Mr. Roscoe still to be informed, that Calvin interceded with the Senate, to have the sentence of burning commuted for some punishment less ignominious; and that of course he was opposed to that kind of punishment? How then will he make good his assertion, by any consistent construction, that Calvin *performed* the act of burning Servetus?

The extreme prejudices of this historian are evinced, by his stretching a note across the foot of three pages, and appending to his work the three letters of Servetus, relating to a fact that did not occur till more than thirty years after the death of the *profligate, indolent and prophane Leo*, whose life he has appropriately chosen to write. Ought not Mr. Roscoe to have examined the subject, before he ventured to throw out, upon second hand quotations, such ungenerous aspersions against Calvin, the other Reformers, and the Reformation itself?

A Review of some facts relative to the apprehension and trial of Servetus; with further notice of Mr. Roscoe's note.

Both in his letters, and the exposition of the errours of Servetus, Calvin frankly confesses, that Nicholas de la Fontaine proceeded at his request to accuse Servetus;—that he dictated the articles of the charge;—that by his influence the civil power committed him to prison, and required him to defend his opinions;—and that thus *some entrance* was made upon the cause. But Calvin appeals to his conduct, in the progress of the examination, for proof, that his design was to lead this awfully wicked man to repentance, and to stop the flood of impiety which he was pouring forth on the world, to destroy the very foundations of morals and religion. He states that, having taken the oath of citizenship, he was bound to advise his apprehension, as he personally knew the fact of Servetus' heresy and blasphemy. Calvin also knew, that the Papists had long and bitterly reproached the Reformers, the Genevese Republick, and himself especially, with receiving and protecting those whom they called hereticks. To have done this in the case of Servetus, would have given substantial grounds for their invectives against Geneva, which they called the seat of heresy. And how, under the existing circumstances, habits and opinions, would Calvin and the Reformers have been reproached, had they protected this fugitive from the inquisitorial prison of Vienne? Doubtless all those, who now revile them on the one hand, would in that case condemn them on the other, as the protectors of a convicted blasphemer. Servetus had wandered about Italy for some time,* after his escape from the prison of Vienne, without finding any place where he might be secure from the rage of the Papists. It is evident that they were in pursuit of him, from the fact, that the Vice-bailiff of Vienne, on the 31st of August, formally demanded him of the Senate of Geneva as their prisoner. And when this application was made, what did the illustrious Senate of Geneva do? They proposed to Servetus *to make his own election*, whether he would be conducted back to Vienne, where he had lived as a Physician, " ten or twelve years"; or abide the issue of his trial at Geneva. He not only deliberately chose the latter,† but with tears besought the Senate not to send him back to Vienne. At this time he well knew the laws of this city,—the progress of the trial,—and that the Senate had declared the charges against him to be proved. He also knew the manner in which Calvin had advised him to retract his errours, and his forbearance, not only under the shameful treatment of the books which he generously lent him, but also after the most furious and mad abuse heaped upon him in the presence of the Senate. "If he had been," says Calvin, "in any manner curable, he would have been in no danger of any farther punishment."

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* Calvin, in one of his letters, says three or four months. This he said doubtless from reports, which he might have heard relative to his escape from Vienne, which was before the 17th June.

† See Life of Servetus, anonymous, published at London, 1724, p. 118.—Also, Biographical Dictionary, Art. Servetus. The effigy of Servetus, with five bales of his books, was carried in a dung-cart to the *Charneve*, and burnt with a slow fire, according to sentence, on the 17th of June, by the common hangman at Vienne. See the above Life, &c. p. 77.

It was however the deliberate opinion of Calvin, as it was of all other good men of that age, that the scriptures warranted the power, and made it the duty of the civil Magistracy, to restrain with the sword, those obstinate hereticks and blasphemers, who persisted in disseminating their opinions. Nothing can equal the impiety of Servetus before the Senate. He furnished the same proof against himself on his trial at Geneva, as it is said he had before done by his blasphemous language in the inquisitorial court of Vienne. When Calvin saw, that he was most outrageously bent on his own ruin; that, as he observes in a letter to Sulcer, *Servetus had passed beyond the hope of repentance*, he expressed himself as follows, in a letter to Farel, "I hope the sentence at least will be capital, *but I desire that the severity of the punishment may be remitted.*" "From the time," says Calvin, "that the Senate pronounced the charges against him to be proved, *I never uttered a word concerning his punishment.*" Now does this, Mr. Roscoe, look like malice, like the hatred of a man pursuing another with murderous intentions? If Servetus had been guilty only of theft or burglary, who would have abused Calvin for advising his apprehension, or furnishing the evidence of the crime for his conviction? But a blasphemer may surpass all common prophanity against the most holy God, the divine Saviour and Sanctifier, and for more than twenty years be diligent at the work of inventing new and piquant terms of blasphemy, and publish them, although conscious of their corrupt and deadly tendency: This opinionist may proceed, deliberately, to cast his pestiferous poison into the very fountain of the waters of life, that the streams may transmit imperceptible and certain death to the souls of the human race: But if a minister of that God who is so blasphemed opens his advice, even when under oath to do it, and affords any assistance, when bound by conscience, to endeavour to bring the awfully wicked man, not to punishment, but to repentance :—Then it is, that the nervous system of some men is put all on a shiver. So jealous are they of the rights of man, and so indifferent to the rights of God, that their blood runs cold, even at the remote recollection of the legal execution of such a man ; and becoming blind to every other object, they are prompt, like Mr. Roscoe, to "challenge the annals of persecution to furnish another such instance of atrocious cruelty."

In the exposition of the errours of Servetus, Calvin informs his readers, *That he did not consider it a matter of consequence for him to refute the calumny invented to asperse him by factious, foolish or malicious men or drunkards.* In passing over those insignificant calumniators with silent and dignified indifference, he doubtless misjudged. He had not conceived, that his writings would be of such weight with posterity, as to excite the continued hostility of the Papist, the Socinian and the Infidel ; much less of the professed Christian moralist. He probably did not rank himself so high as to suppose, that the Perrins, Berteliers and Bolsecks, who personally sought to blast his reputation while he lived, would have such a numerous body of descendants, who would invent new calumnies and repeat old ones, to asperse him through successive ages. But yet it is possible that, from his intercourse with such men, he did judge, that there were characters, and that from the very nature of man there would always be those, upon whom reasoning, however forcible, and facts, however stubborn, would have little or no influence ; who *will* revile rashly the most benevolent defenders of divine truth, because *they will* revile.

It has become so much a matter of course, with a certain class of writers, to speak evil of Calvin, that the bare asser tion of any thing reproachful about him passes currently with them without either proof, or even semblance of probability. The compilers of Biographical Dictionaries, Cyclopædias and Encyclopædias, have dealt liberally in unauthorised assertions on this subject. In one life of Servetus, Calvin is charged *with pursuing him with malevolence and fury,—with brutal and furious treatment of him at his trial,—with dissimulation and malevolence towards him after his condemnation,—That he acted in all this affair from motives merely personal;* —and when the candid reader casts about his eye for the proofs, and proofs he has a right to demand in support of such high charges,—what does he find? Why, indeed the word of the calumniator—That *every body believes this;* and a second is—That *nobody can doubt it.* The above charges, and authorities to prove them, are quoted nearly verbatim from the life of Servetus in *the new* and general Biographical Dictionary, published in London in 12 vols. 1784. These unknown writers, who stab in the dark, have been so eager to calumniate Calvin, that they have attempted to dignify Servetus with the learning of Sydenham, the inventive powers of Harvey,* and the mild morals of Boerhave. They furnish a specimen† of abusive and bold assertions affecting the character of the Genevese Reformer, which strongly evinces, that they have pursued him *with malevolence and fury.*

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* Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood, &c. but those writers, in their rage to honour Servetus, have attempted to credit this man "*of prodigious learning*" with that discovery; and the *learned* Wotton says, that the *very learned* Charles Bernard could inform him no farther, only that he had it from a *learned* friend, who copied it from Servetus. The authority is then, *a learned friend said so.*

† Dr. Lempriere, in his late universal Biography, has detailed facts with the same spirit as that of his predecessors, in his short life of Servetus. He has however improved upon Allwoerden's manuscript, by saying that "two long hours elapsed" while Servetus was burning at the stake.

As Mr. Roscoe is one of the latest writers, who has assumed the task of hunting down Calvin, with unqualified accusations of injustice and cruelty in the affair of Servetus, it is not improper to request him, as he has both learning and leisure, to point out, on legitimate testimony, any one sentence which that Divine has written, or any one action of his, in the imprisonment and trial of Servetus, which, when measured by the habits and principles of that age, shows the least want of integrity or moderation; or which manifests any symptoms of cruelty of disposition, or personal hatred towards him; or that he rejoiced at his condemnation or his death. By that standard, let this historian, who is so well versed in the knowledge of the opinions of that period, name a single fact fairly authenticated, that proves in Calvin a disposition incompatible with an honest desire for the repentance and recantation of those enormous errours, by which Servetus might have not only escaped punishment, but have been treated with friendship at Geneva. If such writers will assert, that Calvin acted from personal hatred towards Servetus, let it be proved, not by sly, insinuating suggestions, and unfounded assertions, but by a fair statement of facts, and a candour of testimony, that will at least convince the understanding, and do away the imputation, which now inevitably fastens upon them, that they are wilful calumniators.

As it is possible that Mr. Roscoe has not read Theodore Beza's Tract *De hæreticis a civili Magistratu puniendis*, he may be informed that it is to be found in the first volume of that author's Theological Tracts. In this work is an extensive illustration of the views and opinions of the ancient Fathers and early Reformers of the Christian Church, relative to the right and duty of the civil Magistracy to punish hereticks. At pages 94 and 148, the opinion of Luther is given, and his words expressly quoted, to prove that he maintained, that hereticks were to be restrained and punished by the civil

Magistracy. In the same work it also appears, that this was the opinion of Melancthon, of Urbanus Regius, of the Saxon Church, of Brentius, of Erasmus, of Bucer, of Capito, of Bullinger, of Musculus, and of the Genevese Church. To these distinguished Reformers, the names of almost all others might be added, to prove that Calvin's opinion on that subject was only the opinion of all other learned and pious men of that period. It is also to be noticed, that Melancthon, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Hemmingius, Farel, Beza, Bishop Hall and others approved expressly, and in writing, of the conduct of Calvin, and also of the final sentence of the Senate of Geneva, in punishing capitally the man, who called the triune Unity of God a three headed Cerberus, and a triple bodied monster. Now would it be agreeable to the panegyrist of the profligate Leo to pack his jury, and in the 19th century try a case, which occurred in the 16th, by the modern principles of liberality and expediency? Truth is indeed unchangeable; but the opinions of men vary essentially in successive periods. The change at times has been rapid, under the influence of minds distinguished by acuteness of intellect, and habituated to sober investigation. Calvin himself is an instance of the powerful command, which a great and comprehensive mind may have over the current of opinion. He arrested the attention, and directed the thoughts of multitudes into a new channel on the great doctrines of religion. As the judicious Hooker says, "thousands were debtors to him, yet he to none, but only to God, the author of his talents, and that blessed fountain, the word of life." But no man, no age has been great and perfect in every thing. Depraved man has, in every period, discovered his apostacy and weakness. The successive exertions of the greatest minds have given abundant proofs, that the most vigorous powers of intellect are at a humiliating distance from comprehending all the relations of morality and religion, even under the guidance of revelation. A thousand instances might be adduced, from Civilians and Ecclesiasticks, to exemplify this statement. For instance, men of the most comprehensive minds believed, in the middle of the 18th century, the lawfulness of slavery, which, in the beginning of the 19th, is severely reprobated as unjust and cruel, by every uninterested and well informed mind. But would it be correct for Mr. Roscoe, or any other person, to assert that the most learned and pious men of the 18th century were of an atrocious and malevolent disposition, because they justified a principle which, in its practical effects, was productive of the most horrid cruelties to millions of human beings possessing equal personal rights with themselves. Will Mr. Roscoe then, and others like him, complacently indulge their hostile prejudices on such perverse and uncandid grounds, in order to revile the Reformers, the greatest and best of men, who more than most others of any age laboured, with apostolick ardour, to act in the fear of God? It will not be controverted but that, in this liberal age, there is in a very numerous class of writers a bigoted liberality towards all those opinions which inflict wounds on the vital doctrines of revelation. This is precisely that appropriate liberality, which the Senate of Geneva noticed in Servetus at his trial; a liberality towards the grossest superstitions, and a zealous concern for the most heretical innovations in religion, while the worship of God, in all its forms, was by him neglected and despised.

One important fact in the case of Servetus has been passed over, by every biographer of Calvin, who has attended to that subject. Servetus, after a full examination and defence before the Senate, and after the Consistory had laboured to confute and reclaim him from his errours, *appealed to the Swiss Churches*. This *appeal* was made before the Consistory had given their judicial opinion on the point at issue, whether the allegations, which the Senate had pronounced to be proved, amounted to heresy and blasphemy. On his appeal to the Churches of Zurich, Schaffhausen, Bern and Basil, the Senate immediately ordered the thirty-eight propositions selected from his writings to be copied and given to Servetus. By the same decree, he was permitted to retract any of his opinions; refute any of the propositions, or defend himself against any thing which he judged to be unjustly alleged. To make his defence he had as much time as he pleased. The whole case was reduced to writing, and, together with the privileged reply of Servetus and his books, was forwarded, by the hand of the Questor of the city, to the Swiss Churches, who were now to determine *the question—Whether he was guilty of heresy and blasphemy.* Servetus well understood that the question to be determined was *de capite suo.* The gratuitous reply which he deliberately made, on a case so deeply interesting, is noticed by the Church of Zurich when they say in their letter, *the reply or gloss of Servetus contains little else, but extreme impudence and detestable outrage.* It is indeed a curiosity, and may be found verbatim in the refutation of the errours of Servetus by the Genevese Ministers, in the volume of Calvin's Opuscula. It is no presumption to say, that in point of abuse and scurrility, this defence stands unrivalled, by any one that was ever made by any defendant, however infatuated, in the most desperate cause. In their answers, the four Swiss Churches decided the *previous question,* that Servetus was a heretick and an obstinate blasphemer. Upon this decision, and not upon the opinions of their own consistory, the Senate rendered their judgment against him, according to their long established laws.

In the face of circumstances so forbearing and so generous, Mr. Roscoe in his note abruptly challenges, that "the annals of persecution cannot furnish a more atrocious instance of bigotry and cruelty, than the burning of Servetus in a Protestant city by Protestant Priests."—He asserts in the next breath, that he was "the unhappy victim of ecclesiastical tyranny;" and refers to the three letters of Servetus at the end of his volume, as the sole and high proof of the charge, "from which the reader may judge of the cruelty and injustice of his tyrannical and bigoted persecutors, the Ecclesiasticks and Magistrates of Geneva." He then closes his legendary note with, "such were the *first fruits* of the Reformation."

This illiberal defender of liberality, like a true disciple of Gibbon, studies to soil the cause of pure religion, and to deform the characters of the best of men, while at the same time he labours to dignify a profligate Pope, and to elevate an impious blasphemer. He may however be challenged temperately to name, not merely in the annals of persecution, but even in the records of criminal justice, an instance of more moderation and liberality, than was exercised by the Magistrates of Geneva in the trial of Servetus. Let this learned historian lay his finger on the page of the history of any man, who has been burnt for his religious opinions or writings, that was not a victim to more cruel tyranny, and treated with less moderation than that Spaniard. Let him extend his vision into Holland and Germany and from the many thousand victims* who fell beneath the hand of the executioner, in the different persecutions carried on by Charles V. and his successors, select the most favourable instance for his purpose, and the issue of the comparison is challenged, as proof of more cruelty and injustice, on the part of the imperial persecutors, than in the case of the Swiss Churches and Magistrates of Geneva. Let him, if it will not be too much for the overflowing sympathies of his liberal heart, turn his view to a land to be seen across his country's channel, that little barrier under Providence of the liberties of man, and there, during the unshackled reign of infidel benevolence and philosophick humanity, instance from the annals of persecution, in that period of full day light, a single case out of thousands that may, from its mildness and gentleness, put the Christian Magistrates of Geneva to the blush for what he calls their "unparalleled cruelty and injustice," in the trial and execution of Servetus.

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* A writer in the Christ. Obs. vol. 4. p. 616, referring to Grotius for authority, says, 100,000.

Zuinglius began to preach the pure doctrine at Zurich in 1516. Thirty-seven years had elapsed before the sentence was executed upon Servetus, which the historian of Leo calls "*the first fruits of the Reformation*"; of that glorious æra, "when," as he observes, "Europe saw the luminary of classical learning at a higher meridian than at any time before or since." But were no effects produced by the preaching of the pure doctrines, and the translation of the scriptures into the different living languages, which, with more correctness and less bigotry, might have received *that scriptural appellation?* The enquiry is not put to his candour, that would be yielding more than the case requires, but the appeal is made to him in all his prejudices against "*Prophets and Pseudo-Prophets*," to answer the question. But waving the question, and admitting that persecutions and burnings were the first fruits of loosening the chains of Popish thraldom, and opening the pure light of the Gospel upon the people at large, will the result of an examination be such as to vindicate the bold assertion, that the burning of Servetus was the *earnest of the harvest?* It can be no pleasant task, in which the candid and truly liberal mind will volunteer, to expose even the infirmities of men, who acted according to the principles then commonly admitted, by bringing their actions and opinions to the standard which the progress of more than two centuries has fixed as the measure of toleration. This is to exercise the same uncharitable and persecuting spirit, for which the fathers of the Reformation are condemned and ungenerously reproached, by those who are apparently ignorant of the corruption of human nature, and destitute of that knowledge of themselves, which would convince them, that their own circumstances need only be changed, and with all their boasted philanthropy, their pride and selfishness would prompt them to kindle the fires of persecution, upon all who did not burn incense to their licentious and bigoted liberality. In deciding upon the moral quality of the opinions and actions of men of other times, it is an imperious duty to examine the civil and religious circumstances in which they lived; to weigh well the habits and even the prejudices under which they laboured, the rules of right and wrong, of commendation and blame, which they adopted, and the degrees of knowledge which enlightened their path, so as not to exact from them the use of talents which they did not possess. True liberality will restrict the enquiry to this point, Did they act consistently with their avowed principles, and conscientiously in respect to the will of God?

The subject is with reluctance pursued: but the statement of some facts may remind those persons who may easily forget, or who perhaps do not know, that while they so violently impugn, and so falsely accuse Calvin, they reproach, at the same breath,some of the highest Dignitaries, and most respectable Civilians of the *English Church.* Those distinguished men preceded the Genevese in burning hereticks; and they doubtless acted with more integrity than those who, at this time of day, revile them, with selected epithets, for punishing with death obstinate offenders against the authority of God. As Mr. Roscoe, with all his learning, appears to be unread in the English annals of persecution, he may with deference be asked to examine a page or two in Bishop Burnet's "*History of the Reformation of the Church of Eng-*

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land," vol. 2, p. 105—107, anno 1549. Ample credit is due to the authority of Dr. Burnet. In following him, the reader feels a confidence that he shall not designedly be led astray; and is liberated from those doubts and suspicions of fallacy, which spring up and trouble him as he advances over the pages of some more elegant historians. "On the 12th of April, 1549," on complaint against those who went under the name of Anabaptists, "for disseminating their errours and making proselytes, a commission was ordered for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, *Chichester*, *Lincoln* and *Rochester*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Dr. Cox, Dr. *May* and some others, (three of them being a quorum,) to *examine* and *search after* all Anabaptists, hereticks, or *contemners* of the *Common Prayer*. They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoin them penance, and give them absolution: or, if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the *secular power* to be further proceeded against."

"Some tradesmen in London were brought before these Commissioners in May." They abjured their former opinions, and were acquitted. "One of those was ordered to carry a *faggot*, next Sabbath, at St. Paul's, where there should be a sermon setting forth his heresy.*—But there was another of these extremely obstinate, Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent." Her errour in short was,—"That she denied that Jesus Christ took his flesh of the Virgin Mary, because her flesh was sinful. They took much pains, and held many conferences with her. But she was so extravagantly conceited of her own notions, that she rejected all they said with scorn; whereupon *she was adjudg-*

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* Strype, in his Annals, calls this man by the name of *Putto*. The law for carrying the *faggot* to the Church was enacted in 1545, under Henry VIII.——Neal's Hist. Puritans, vol. 1, p. 27, quarto edit.

ed an obstinate heretick, and *so left to the secular power.*" The young King, Edward VI. refused to sign the warrant *de comburendo*, for burning her. Cranmer and Ridley took the woman into custody to their own houses to reclaim her; but she persisted with contemptuous jeers and insolence; and on the reiterated and strong solicitations of Cranmer, the King signed the warrant, and she was burnt on the 2d of May, 1550. "Bishop Scory preaching at her burning."

"On the 6th of April, 1551, George Van Pare, a Dutchman, was condemned in the same manner that Joan of Kent was, and on the 25th of April, was burnt at Smithfield. His accusation was for maintaining, That God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God. He was dealt with long to abjure, but would not. One thing was certain," adds the candid Burnet, "*That what Cranmer did in this matter flowed from no cruelty in him; no man being further from that black disposition of mind; but it was truly the effect of those principles by which he governed himself.*" To this every ingenuous mind assents, and finds a pleasure in tracing the Primate's conduct up to a cause, adequate to the effect, without resorting to cruelty of disposition, or malignancy of heart.

The question is now put to Mr. Roscoe, Whether the English annals of persecution, of prior date by three years, do not furnish instances in *Joan of Kent and George Van Pare*, "of more bigotry and cruelty", than the case of *Servetus?* Let the words on which the accusation, against that man or that woman, was founded, be compared with the thirty-eight propositions, selected from Servetus' writings. Compare too the circumstances of the proceedings of the ecclesiastical court of Commissioners, who were to enquire after delinquents, and the secular judicatory, sentencing upon the then vague *principles of common law* in England, with those of the Syndicks and Senate of Geneva, guided by the statute laws of that Republick. And were there any records to be relied on, detailing the manner of execution, no doubt but that both at Smithfield and the Champel, the spectacle would be equally painful. While it is freely granted that, under the habits of those times, Cranmer acted with the strictest integrity, see this venerable Archbishop pleading at successive times before young Edward, with all his eloquence and arguments, to induce him to sign the warrant for burning Joan of Kent; and the King yielding at last, "*with tears in his eyes*, saying to Cranmer, *that if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he should answer for it to God.*"*

Mr. Roscoe may now be requested for a moment to observe Calvin, entering the Senate of Geneva, after their sentence upon Servetus, grounded on the decision of the four Swiss Churches, and pleading before that body; *that the punishment of Servetus might be mitigated and rendered less severe—That the sentence of burning might be commuted for some punishment less ignominious——.*†

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* Bishop Burnet's Hist. Reform. p. 106.—Burnet says "that people had believed that all the statutes for burning hereticks had been repealed. But now it was found, that repealing the statutes did not take away that which was grounded on a *writ at common law.*"

† *Pœnæ vero atrocitatem remittere cupio.—Genus mortis conati sumus mutare, sed frustra.*—Epist. ad Farellum, Aug. 20, et Oct. 26, 1553. Some who labour to fix upon Calvin every thing which the Senate did, assert that his influence was powerful with that body. The Syndicks and Senate of Geneva were annually elected. In 1553, Perrin was one of the Syndicks, and Bertelier, who is said by Beza to have excited Servetus personally to abuse Calvin when before the Senate as a witness, was clerk of the lower Court, and had been about six months before the trial of Servetus excommunicated. The majority of the Senate *at this very time* were under the influence of the Perrin and Bertelier faction, as will abundantly appear in the subsequent details of their proceedings, in August and September of this year, when they voted, in the face of Calvin and the Consistory, that Bertelier should be admitted to the Lord's Supper. It may be asked where, and in what respect, Calvin had any influence over the Senate that condem-

Here is no deception, Mr. Roscoe. Calvin did in fact intercede for his bitterest enemy. A historian must abide by facts, whatever may be the hostility of his prejudices against their tendency and effect. There is no wish obtrusively to wound your reputation as an author, or your feelings as a man. But have you not been uninformed on this subject, and misguided by unwary prejudice; or prompted perhaps by opposition to the sentiments of Calvinists, to make bold and unauthorized, nay even most disingenuous assertions concerning the Reformer of Geneva? If Cranmer, as Burnet says, and can his declaration be disproved on the whole, "*was a pattern of humility, meekness and charity*,"*—how amiable in these respects, and how dignified in the above comparison, must be the character of Calvin?

Compare moreover the dates of the burnings in England with the *single one* in Geneva, and if you, Sir, still abide by your assertion, that *the* FIRST FRUITS *of the Reformation* were persecution and burning for heresy, or the exercise of private judgment, it may at least be expected, that you will honourably declare, that they were gathered at *Smithfield* in England, three years before they were reaped on the *Champel* of Geneva.

In taking leave of the note of the learned and elegant historian of the Pontificate of Leo, it would be pleasant to be liberated from those mortifying investigations, which bring into view evidences of the weakness of man. But the duty becomes imperious, so far forth, as to prove, that persecution for opinion's sake was so strongly supported by the habits of the 16th century, that even a minor sect, accounted heret-

ned Servetus? It must be admitted, that the Senate, who refused, at Calvin's request, to mitigate and change the punishment of Servetus, were under the control of Perrin, and not of Calvin.

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* Hist. Reform. Vol. 3, p. 250.

ical by all others, and who bitterly inveighed against civil restraints on private judgment, when themselves were exposed, were nevertheless equally prompt to use the coercive power of the Magistracy, when they could command its direction to the punishment of those, whose opinions they considered as injurious to the promotion of their own scheme.

The followers of *Faustus Socinus* have long indulged, with an imposing confidence, and an assiduity of repetition, a spirit of calumny, which has been doubtless successful in prejudicing some minds against the name and writings of Calvin. It is however a fact, that *Faustus Socinus*, the man who gives the name to the sect of *Socinians, was himself a persecutor.* Not of one, indeed, who in his estimation blasphemed the triune Godhead, and reviled, with unparalleled impiety, the scriptures, and every doctrine of the scriptures; but of Francis David, superintendant of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania. "*David* opposed *Socinus* in the notion of giving worship to Jesus Christ." Both Socinus and David professed to hold that Jesus Christ was a mere man. David urged, that it was as unlawful to pray to him as to the Virgin Mary, or any of the Popish Saints. Of course David, in refusing to give divine worship to Christ, acted consistently with his own avowed principles. *Socinus* supposed, that to avow this openly would *expose their sect to odium*, and prevent its progress. Socinus was hypocritical, and made it a mere question of expediency; while David made it a question of conscience; and persisting to teach his opinion freely, he was persecuted, by Socinus and his associates, and thrown into prison, by order of the Prince, Battori, "where he languished for six years until his death, which happened Nov. 15, 1579." Socinus was the contriver of his imprisonment, which was the occasion of his death. This should silence the Socinians in their reproaches against Calvin; "when," as Le Clerk says, "nothing can be said against that Reformer which will not bear as hard upon their own *Patriarch*," Socinus.*

With propriety then the Socinians may be requested to direct their attention, and bestow their sympathy, upon a conscientious brother who died in prison, a lingering death, under the oppressive and persecuting influence of the father of his sect. The candid mind will call into exercise the feelings of compassion; and be thankful for the superior light now enjoyed on the subject of persecution for the sake of opinions. The spirit of Christianity will lead her disciples to mourn the depravity of human nature, as the source of errour, and the origin of civil punishments for private sentiments. Let the Socinian beware, lest from the virulent reproaches which he may cast upon others, he should give just occasion for the observation, that under the restraints of the nineteenth century, the form of persecution is changed, while the spirit of it remains, and would be ready to express itself under given circumstances, with the same exterminating intemperance as in other times. Indeed, it must be admitted, that no man, who knows his own heart, and has candour enough to avow its propensities, will say that Trajan, or Pliny, or Innocent III.,† or Socinus, or Cranmer, or Calvin, and a host of other learned men, were either naturally or habitually inclined, with any peculiar malice, to pursue and destroy others merely for their opinions.

For more than fifty years after the death of Calvin, no instance could be found of any respectable writer, who censured him respecting the execution of Servetus. On the publication of Calvin's Epistles by Theodore Beza, in 1575, *Je-*

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* Dupin Eccles. Hist. 16th cent. b. 4, p. 417. Rees' Cyclopæd. Art. Fran. David. New Biog. Diction. Art. Socinus. Mosh. Eccles. Hist. vol. 4, p. 200, note. Fuller's Letters, Cal. and Socin. compared, p. 145.

† Innocent III. This Pope is said to have first introduced the punishment of hereticks by burning, in the beginning of the 13th century.

rome Bolseck took offence at the account which had been given of his conduct and opinions in some of those letters. Bolseck, at that time having turned back to the Papists, wrote a life of Calvin for the sole purpose of blasting his name. But however destitute of principle, and prompted by revenge to invent the most daring falsehoods, he no where, it is asserted, accused Calvin of personal hatred towards Servetus, or cast any blame upon him for what he did in advising the prosecution against him.

MAIMBOURG, a Jesuit, wrote a history of Calvinism, in which, with all his Popish partialities and misrepresentations, he says nothing on that subject.

DUPIN, another Papist, in his Ecclesiastical History, does not even name Servetus in his life of Calvin, and but barely mentions him among the Socinian hereticks.

BAYLE, who was of no religious denomination, in his life of Calvin, does not even name Servetus, nor cast any reproach upon that Reformer in his voluminous notes. Few biographical writers have indulged more boldness of observation upon characters than Bayle; and perhaps no one man has been so extensively acquainted as he was with the events of the Reformation, and the characters of those distinguished men who were active in promoting it. It was not ignorance, but a thorough knowledge of the facts, which must have induced this writer to pass in silence a subject which, within a century past, has been brought forward, with so much animosity, to discredit the name and writings of Calvin.

The judicious HOOKER,* when labouring with no indifferent zeal to confute the ecclesiastical polity of Geneva, says, "A founder it had, for my own part, I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the French Church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the study of the civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered not by hearing and reading so much as by teaching others. For though thousands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in that kind, yet he to none but only to God, the author of that most blessed fountain, the book of life, and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning, which were his guides; till being occasioned to leave France, he fell at length upon Geneva." Hooker's Eccles. Polity, Preface, p. 62.——————"We should be injurious unto virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are, which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world: The one, his exceeding pains in composing *The Institutions* of the Christian religion; the other, his no less industrious travels for the exposition of holy scripture according to the same Institutions. In which two things, whoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them, if they gainsayed; and of glory above them, if they consented. Of what account the master of the Sentences," Peter Lombard, "was in the Church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of the Reformed Churches, Calvin had purchased: so that the perfectest Divines were judged they, which were skilfulest in Calvin's writings; his books were almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by. The French Churches were all cast according to that mould which Calvin had made. The Church of Scotland, in erecting the fabrick of their Reformation, took the self same pattern."——Hooker's Preface, Eccl. Pol. p. 65 and 66.

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* Hooker was born before Calvin's death, and died in 1600, being cotemporary with Beza.

"The pious and excellent Bishop HALL solemnly pronounced, that in that transaction, relative to Servetus, Calvin did well approve himself to God's Church."——See his Christian Moderation, b. 2, Sect. 14, quoted in Dr. Miller's

Contin. of Lett. p. 327. HEYLIN, although strongly attached to Episcopacy, and to Archbishop Laud, in his history of the Presbyterians, says much, with his usual unauthorised asperity, against Calvin; yet he never reproaches him as to the matter of Servetus, whom he only names as a Socinian.

Bishop BURNET, in his history of the Reformation of the English Church, has passed in silence the story of Servetus, and always named Calvin with respect.

Without increasing this list with the names of *Francis Junius*, *James Arminius*, *Davila*, *Strype*, and a vast number of other historians and Divines of different theological sentiments, it may be asked, On what principle it was, that those writers passed with approbation, or without notice, such atrocious cruelty and personal malevolence in Calvin, as Mr. Roscoe and others, within a century back, have boldly charged upon him in the affair of Servetus? Were the Divines and historians at the close of the 16th, and through the 17th century, more ignorant of the facts and circumstances which attended that business than those Divines or historians who, in the 18th century, have so pointedly selected, and so invidiously impugned Calvin, as pre-eminently possessing, and furiously exercising the spirit of persecution for the sake of opinions?* This it is presumed will not be asserted by any one competent to judge of that question.

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* That Divines and historians, who are members of the Church of England, should reproach Calvin, about burning Servetus, even if the fact were so, is strange, when without reverting back to the burning of Lambert and Askew, in the reign of Henry VIII.—to Van Pare and Joan of Kent, in that of Edward VI.—or of the two Anabaptists in that of Elizabeth; they may read, as late as 1612, under James I. of the burning of Legate and Wightman for the Arian heresy. And if they follow down the details of their history, during the reign of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud, and read the petition of *Alexander Leighton,* or his sentence and punishment, they will find causes enough for the chills of grief, and tears of sympathy, from persecutions not only for *heresy,* but for *non-conformity* to the *Common Prayer Book* of the Episcopal Church.

The rise of the prejudices against Calvin, and his writings, may be found in the controversies which originated between those who were professedly the followers of that Divine on the one hand, and of *James Arminius*, on the other.

Theodore Beza supposed, like many others who call themselves Calvinists, that he could explain some things on the subject of predestination and election, with more precision and perspicuity than Calvin had done. In this instance, Beza acted regardless of the following advice which he says Calvin gave him on his first entrance upon theological studies: "Take care that you do not entangle and ensnare yourself in vain subtilties; and when any new notions arise in your mind, however they may please and flatter you at first, yet do not give yourself up to them, till you have thoroughly weighed and sifted them. In a word, moderate and restrain the vivacity and over forwardness of your genius.—— I have endeavoured all along to follow this advice, which was given me, by that great man of blessed memory, JOHN CALVIN, when I first gave myself up to the sacred studies."*

William Perkins of Cambridge published, in 1590, his *Armilla Aurea*, &c. in which he digested the sentiments of Beza, on that mysterious subject, into a more logical and palpable form.† Francis Gomarus, who was appointed Professor of Divinity at Leyden in 1594, supported the system of Mr. Perkins without opposition till 1603, when Arminius was appointed his colleague in the Professorship of that University. The successive disputes between these two learned divines drew out the peculiar sentiment of Arminius. In 1608, and the following year, Gomarus and Arminius disputed publickly before the Assembly of the States of Holland. The last disputation was broken off by the sickness of Arminius, who died October 19, 1609. He however left followers who, in strenuously supporting his opinions, and ultimately refining upon them, to obviate objections, have as much exceeded what he had defended, as Perkins and others since have ventured beyond the scriptural limits which Calvin had established on those mysterious points. The εριδος μηλον, *the apple of discord*, was thrown among the leaders of the controversy, and their heat and animosity were increased till the meeting of the Synod of Dort, in November, 1618, by order of the States of Holland. The controversy by degrees had grown into a state of faction, and endangered the peace of the government. Maurice, Prince of Orange, from political motives, put himself at the head of the Calvinists, and Barnavelt, the advocate of Holland, with Hogerberts and Grotius, were the leaders who sided with the Arminians. The five points of controversy were decided in favour of the Calvinists, and the Arminians were declared corrupters of the true religion. The Belgick confession of faith was established as the religion of Holland. Grotius was a Civilian, connected with the grand Pensionary, Barnavelt, and was imprisoned by Maurice, as an enemy to the government.* Thus provoked and embittered against the professed Calvinists, and against the power of the Magistracy in matters of religion, Grotius uttered that most ungenerous aspersion against Calvin, *Serveti exustor*.* Francis Turretin animadverts upon this expression of Grotius, and declares it to be *a bold calumny against the truth of history*. "*It is evident*," says he, "*that Calvin, with his colleague Pastors, dissuaded from the burning of Servetus:* but neither the laws, nor the Magistrates would allow him to be treated more mildly on account of his horrid blasphemies."

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* Beza, apud Philippum Pareum, in vita Davidis Parei, as quoted by Bayle.

† Calvin had stated, that the damnation of the reprobate sprang from their own corruption of nature. Beza and Perkins rested it on the decree of God, &c.——Bayle, Art. Arm. Beza, in volumine primo tractationum theologicarum,—De æterna Dei prædestinatione, p. 337. Perkins,—Armilla Aurea, Edit. Basiliæ, 1598, p. 15, et passim. Acta Synodi Dordrechti, et Sententia Remonstrantium, vol. 1 et 2. Ibid. De electione et reprobatione, &c.

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* See Bayle, Art. Arminius and Gomarus. Mosh. Neal, and Rees' Cyclopædia, Art. Dort. And especially the Acta Synodi Dort. vol 1 and 2,—for an account of the Arminian controversy.

Turretin, one of the most learned, modest and pious men of any age, was introduced, 1653, as Professor of Theology into the same chair which Calvin first held at Geneva. In his *Institutio Theologicæ Elenchticæ*, he discusses the question, Whether hereticks are to be punished by the civil Magistracy? In this discussion he introduces the case of Servetus, and defends the justice of his sentence, on the ground of the complicated and enormous heresy, which he had propagated for more than twenty years, with great virulence and obstinacy, against all the means used to reclaim him.†

It was subsequent to the Synod of Dort, that the writings of Calvin were first attacked with bitterness in England. It was when, under Charles I., William Laud "became *prime Minister* in all affairs both of Church and State":—It was when, as Bishop Hall says, "It grieved my soul to see our own Church *begin to sicken* with the same *disease*," Arminianism, "which we had endeavoured to cure in our neighbours"; the Church of Holland.*

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* Grotii Opera, vol. 4, p. 503. The petulance of this learned Civilian at this time is evinced, not only by his abusively calling Calvin the *burner of Servetus*, but also by his calling Monsieur de la Fontaine, who accused Servetus, *Calvin's cook*. Fontaine at least had so much learning as to manage the accusations against Servetus before the Senate of Geneva, the first two days of the trial. On the third day, September 16, Germain Colladon assisted him. The confinement of Grotius, and the execution of Barnavelt, may be pleaded in excuse for his low and undignified reproach of Calvin, but can never free him from the charge of Turretin—That he uttered *a bold calumny against the truth of history*.

† Francis Turretin's Works, vol. 3, p. 374, loc. 18, quest. 34.

The influence of the Primate, Laud, brought forward, in the Arminians, new and resolute auxiliaries to the aid of the Papists and Socinians, in their propulsive hostility against Calvinism. Every vagrant from the genuine Institutes of Calvin, who still called himself a Calvinist, furnished fresh materials for his impugners, by which they imposed on the publick mind, as the lessons of that Divine, feverish dogmas, which he absolutely denied and rejected. The two words, *horribile decretum*,† have been forced from their relative positions, and rung through all the changes of reproachful terms in the English language, by such writers as Daubeny, the Bishop of Lincoln, and even Dr. Hobart, apparently for the illiberal purpose of prejudicing the publick sentiment against the name and the writings of Calvin. Regardless of the advice of Bishop Horsely, "take special care, before you aim your shafts at Calvinism, that you know what is Calvinism,and what is not," the enemies of Calvin have been so abusive in their misrepresentations and misquotations, that they sometimes, to avoid personal disgrace, have unmanfully sheltered themselves under fictitious names. But it is not to be expected, that arguments will wrest from such men opinions adopted from prejudice, interest or passion. And after all that has been or can be written, the virulent and habitual opposers of Calvin must be left to the dominant influence of their own prepossessions, without the hope of their even reading his works with candour.

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* *Some specialities of the life of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich*, written by himself, prefixed to the 3d volume of his works, quoted from Miller's Contin. of Letters, p. 334.

† The candid perusal of the 23d chapter of the 3d book of Calvin's Institutes, in which the words *horribile decretum* are found, will, it is presumed, convince any upright mind, that Calvin has wisely avoided the *double labyrinth* on the subject of Reprobation, precisely as the Apostle Paul does, Rom. ix. 20. *Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?* Calvin maintains, that Adam fell by his own fault;—that the damnation of the reprobate springs from their own corruption of nature;—that their perdition no otherwise depends upon the predestination of God, than that the cause and the matter of it are found in themselves;—that Adam fell because God judged it expedient,—why he judged it expedient, is hidden from us.——Instit. Cal. lib. 3, ch. 23, in sec. 7, 8.

It was, however, the peculiar honour of Calvin, while he lived, that, although unprincipled and heretical men were his opposers, yet every pious, learned and eminent Reformer was his friend. The good and the great of every country looked up to him, with respect and esteem. His enemies have yet to name the individual, among all the reputable Reformers, with whom Calvin had any unfriendly controversy, or any one who did not respect him during his whole life. The integrity, the peaceableness and stability of Calvin may be put beyond controversy, by a correct answer to these questions of fact—*Who were the enemies?—Who were the friends of Calvin while he lived?*

It is readily admitted, that the Papists hated him. At Noyon, a report that he was dead being circulated, in consequence of an illness with which he was seized in divine service, they decreed a publick procession, and returned thanks in their Churches to Almighty God for his death. The next year, 1552, their city was destroyed by fire, and Calvin writes to Farel, "I have no doubt but you have heard, that I survive my native place: So that I am obliged now to mourn the destruction of that city which, the last year, celebrated a publick procession and thanksgiving on account of a false report of my death."*

In the Bull of Pope Pius V., deposing and excommunicating Queen Elizabeth, dated 1569, Calvin's Institutes are noticed with special attention. "Libros manifestam hæresim continentes, toto regno proponi, impia mysteria, et INSTITUTA ad CALVINI præscriptum a se suscepta, et observata, etiam a subditis servari mandavit."* "*She has commanded books containing manifest heresy to be published through her whole kingdom; the impious mysteries and* INSTITUTES *according to* CALVIN *are received and observed by herself, and even enjoined upon all her subjects to be obeyed.*"

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* See In Epist. Calvini ad Farellum. dat. December 2, 1552.

The Papists, in their annual legends, still remember Calvin. A gentleman of respectability stated to the writer of this Life, that being at Strasburg in in 1789, he attended one of those weekly lectures, in a Roman Catholic Church, at which their most popular Preachers officiate, and appropriately discourse against the hereticks who have imbibed the opinions of Calvin. The Preacher, in the course of his sermon, related in a terrifick manner the torments which Calvin's soul endured in purgatory, for renouncing and opposing the mother Church:—That no person dared to approach his grave, on account of the dismal groans and horrid shrieks which proceed from it. The Preacher, moreover, to leave no doubts on the minds of the ignorant multitude, declared, that he himself had heard the frightful outcries of the tormented soul of that heretick. The gentleman, who witnessed the relation of these things at Strasburg, had resided some time at Geneva, without having heard that any of those marvellous circumstances attend the *unknown spot* where Calvin was buried.

The Papists still dread the influence of his writings, especially the temperate and distinct light in which the truth is presented in his Institutes. Bayle states, from Schultingius, "That as soon as this work of Calvin was published at Strasburg, about the year 1545, Bernard Cincius, Bishop of Aquila, carried a copy of it to Cardinal Marcellus Cervin,

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* Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. 2, p. 347, Collect.

Legate of the Pope at the court of the Emperour; and that these two able men judged it to be a more dangerous book than all the *other* writings of the *Lutherans.*" Schultingius was a Papist, and Canon of Cologne. He undertook to confute the Institutes of Calvin. "This work was considered," he says, "as the principal fortress of the Protestants." He proceeds to give an account of the numerous editions through which it had passed; besides its abridgements and translations into different languages. He says, that in England they almost gave Calvin's Institutes the preference to the Bible; that the Bishops ordered all the ministers, *ut pene ad verbum has ediscant,—that they should learn them almost to a word;*—and, *ut tum Anglice exactissime versi in singulis Ecclesiis a parochis legendi appendantur,—that being most exactly turned into English, they should be kept in all the Churches for publick use;**—that they were also studied in both the Universities;—that in Scotland the young students in Divinity began by reading these Institutes;—that at Heidelburg, Geneva, Herborne, and in all the Calvinistical Universities, these Institutes were publickly taught by the Professors;—that in Holland, Ministers, Civilians and the common people studied this work with great diligence, even the coachman and the sailor *nocturna verset manu, versetque diurna;*—that esteeming it as a pearl of great price, they had it bound and gilt in the most elegant manner. This work, Schultingius asserts, was appealed to as a standard, on all theological questions. Such is the account given of the authority of Calvin's Institutes by a professed Papist, who lifted up his mighty arm to destroy this principal fortress of the Protestants, in four large folio volumes, published at Cologne, in the year 1602.*

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* Thomas Norton, a Barrister who, after Sternhold's death, assisted Hopkins, William Whittingham and others, in completing the first version of the Psalms into English, which was done at Geneva, and published at the end of the Geneva Bible, 1560, translated the Institutes of Calvin, perhaps about 1575. Norton's translation is quite literal, but the style is now antiquated.

The animosity enkindled by the Arminian controversy, supported by the half Papist and persecuting Archbishop Laud, changed the state of things in respect to the authority of Calvin's Institutes in England. Francis Cheynell, in his Sermon to the Commons, March 25, 1646, p. 42, says; "The old statutes did recommend Calvin's Institutions to tutors, as a fit book to be expounded to their scholars. But that good statute was omitted in the book of new statutes; because there are so many precious truths in Calvin's Institutions *contrary to the piety of those times*† *in which the new statutes were enacted.*——We begin to see with one eye, and hope that we shall in due time recover the other."

The learned Poole, in the preface to the first volume of his *Synopsis*, published in 1669, apologises for not naming Calvin in the catalogue of authorities. Being patronized by many, who were bitter against the sentiments of Calvin, to avoid giving offence, he says, that where he could he had selected from other writers who had taken from his Commentaries, and adorned their works with his labours; and that he could name many such who affected to despise Calvin, who was yet both their author and master. He adds that the works of Calvin are in almost all hands, as well as in the shops of the booksellers; and he hopes that the friends of Calvin will take no exception at the omission, as it is *dulcius ex ipso fonte*, sweeter to drink at the fountain, and he would by no means prevent their possessing the works of Calvin. In Mr. Poole's preface to the third volume, published 1673, which begins with the Prophet Isaiah, he says, that he ranks Calvin as an expositor above all his praises; and that in the judgment of all whose minds were exercised, and well instructed in sacred things, Calvin, in his most accurate and critical Commentaries on the Prophets, had joined great learning with great judgment, in explaining Hebrew words and phrases, as well as in elucidating obscure passages. The preceding facts open some light on the present subject, as to the occasion and cause of the opposition which has so long prevailed in England against Calvin and his writings; and which has led to many of those unchristian and disingenuous misrepresentations which were designed to blast the one, and suppress the influence of the other. The unhallowed aspersions, which have been circulated by the dominant class of Arminians *in that country* respecting Calvin, have been with some persons *in this*, of bigoted and feverish minds, a sufficient argument for reproaching him, and all those who are denominated from his name, with cherishing an intolerant spirit in matters of religion.

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* See Bayle, Art. Schultingius.

† When Laud was Archbishop of Canterbury.—Laud was charged with Popish inclinations. A lady who had turned Papist, being asked by the Archbishop the cause of her changing her religion, tartly replied, My Lord, it was because *I ever hated a croud.* He requested her to explain. *I perceived,* said she, *that your Lordship and many others were making for Rome with all speed,* to prevent a press, I went before you. Bayle.

The inquisitorial mania of Archbishop Laud still so far prevails among the Dignitaries of the English Church, as to render it somewhat indispensable, on publick occasions, for the preacher who would prove his orthodoxy, and secure his popularity, to speak directly or indirectly of "the impious dogmas of Calvin."—And it is a subject of regret, that from the fear of the overbearing prejudices of Arminianism, the same temporising expedient, which affected the learned Poole in his two first volumes, should operate so powerfully as to exclude the name of Calvin from the pious and popular

Commentaries of Dr. Thomas Scott;* a Divine who has perhaps surpassed all others in detailing the definite and legitimate sentiments of Calvin, on all the great doctrinal points of theology. It is unquestionably true, as Poole asserts, that many Commentators, who have not had boldness or ingenuousness enough to acknowledge it, have still lighted their lamps at the luminous and evangelical writings of the Genevese Theologian. And while the Church of Christ endures, the light which Calvin opened from the scriptures will extend its beams, through one medium or another, to cheer, to guide and edify the followers of Christ. The friends and defenders of evangelical truth are already clad in the armour of God. They are meekly and firmly advancing in the defence of the pure doctrines of the Reformation in the English Church; and are labouring, after the example of Calvin, above all others, with apostolick zeal, for the unlimited circulation of the scriptures in all languages, and the extension of the knowledge of them through all nations. The progress of truth, even amidst the sound of war, and the desolations which are in the earth, is accelerated by the union of the friends of Zion. The chains of bigotry are dropping from the hands of those who have been bound; and the scales of prejudice are falling from the eyes of many who have been blind. Men of the first talents, and most extensive erudition, in that communion, have dared temperately to combat the enemies of Calvin, to break up their deceptive coverts of attack through the medium of false authorities and misrepresentations, and to set forth in a clear light the influence which the Divine of Geneva had with Somerset, Cranmer and King Edward, in forwarding the reformation of the Liturgy, and infusing into the doctrinal articles of that Church the pure spirit of the Gospel. These faithful labourers have done much. They have laid the foundation, and cast abroad the light, which will form a new era in that Church, the heads of which, many of them at least, have since the days of Laud been embittered against the name and writings of "the venerable Calvin."*—They have entered upon a work of Reform, which will have extension and enlargement; and if under Providence that Church is to be preserved, they will, in all probability, be the instruments. They have even now opened the door of hope, that their Israel may arise in purity and stability before God. To such men, all the lovers of the truth as it is in Jesus will, as Calvin did, extend the right hand of fellowship, whatever may be the minor distinction of forms, or the subordinate peculiarity of their formularies.

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* In justice to Dr. Scott, it must be said, that in his able remarks on the Bishop of Lincoln's Refutation of Calvinism, he has more than atoned for his former neglect of Calvin; still it may be observed that in Dr. Scott's Notes on the Bible, the name of Calvin might in many instances justly hold the places now occupied by the names of Hammond, Hall, Lowth, Whitby, and even Beza.

A quotation from the Christian Observer shall close this part of our subject.

"Few names stand higher, or in a more deserved pre-eminence, amongst the wise and pious members of the English Church, than that of Bishop Andrews. His testimony to the memory of Calvin is, that 'he was an illustrious person, and never to be mentioned without a preface of the highest honour.'† Whoever examines the sermons, writings, &c. of our Divines, in the reigns of *Elizabeth* and *James I.*, will continually meet with epithets of honour with which his name is mentioned; the *learned*, the *wise*, the *judicious*, the *pious Calvin*, are expressions every where to be found in the remains of those times. It is well known that his *Institutes* were *read* and *studied in the Universities, by every student in Divinity,* for a considerable portion of a century; nay that by a convocation held at *Oxford,* that book was recommended *to the general study of the nation.* So far was the *Church of England,* and *her chief Divines,* from countenancing that unbecoming and absurd treatment, with which the name of this eminent Protestant is now so frequently dishonoured, that it would be no difficult matter to prove, that there is not a parallel instance upon record, of any single individual being equally and so unequivocally venerated, for the union of wisdom and piety, both in England, and by a large body of the foreign Churches, as JOHN CALVIN. Nothing but ignorance of the ecclesiastical records of those times, or resolute prejudice, could cast a cloak of concealment over this fact; it has been evidenced by the combined testimony both of enemies and friends to his system of doctrines.*"

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* See Bishop Horsely's Charge in 1800.

† It is an additional argument of the deference paid to his opinions, that the *Liturgy* underwent an entire alteration, in compliance with the objections which Calvin made to it as *it previously stood*.

Some time in April of this year, Bertilier, who held the office of clerk in the lower Council, was excommunicated. Perrin, who was now one of the Syndicks, his wife and Balthazar, had each of them also experienced the weight of the same censure. All means were used, and all efforts made, at this time, to deprive the Consistory of the right to exercise their authority. The first step which the factious took, for effecting their purpose, was to petition the Senate to absolve Bertilier from the sentence of the Consistory. Calvin, in the name of this body, appeared before the Senate, and pointed out, with great plainness, the obligation they were under to enforce the ecclesiastical laws. The question was of great moment; and he omitted nothing which might lead to a correct decision. He proved to them, that to yield to this request would dissolve the whole compact of discipline in that Church. After hearing the reasons on both sides, the upper Senate determined that Bertilier was justly excommunicated. Defeated but not discouraged, he next brought the question before the lower Council, that they should restore him without consulting the Consistory. The point was abruptly carried; and the Council of two hundred decreed, that the final sentence of excommunication belonged to the Senate, and that they might absolve in all cases from the sentence of the Consistory. The Senate precipitately granted Bertilier a letter of absolution, sanctioned with the seal of the Republick. This decree was passed on the 31st of August, two days previous to the Sabbath on which the Lord's Supper was to be administered. Perrin and his faction supposed, that they had involved Calvin in a dilemma of no small consequence. They were animated with the expectation, that if Calvin refused to comply with the mandate of the Senate, in admitting Bertilier to the Supper, he would be overpowered by the faction; if he yielded, the authority of the Consistory would be absolutely destroyed. Calvin was immediately informed of these transactions. During the two days previous to the Sabbath, he deliberately formed his opinion, and took the stand which he believed his duty called him to maintain. In his morning sermon, before the administration of the Supper, he spoke of the wickedness of those who treated the sacred emblems of the body and blood of Christ with contempt; and stretching forth his hand, he said, in a low and solemn voice, *After the example of Chrysostom, sooner will I suffer death, than permit this hand to administer the holy things of*

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* Christian Observer, vol. 2, p. 142, 143.

the Lord, to those who are lawfully condemned as despisers of God. These words had a most powerful effect upon the whole assembly. The factious, who were waiting to enjoy their expected triumph, were dismayed; and Perrin privately directed Bertilier not to present himself at the Table. The sacred elements were administered, in the most solemn silence, and a peculiar awe pervaded the assembly, as if the Deity himself had been in sight.

In the afternoon, Calvin expounded that distinguished passage in the *Acts of the Apostles, in which Paul took leave of the Church of Ephesus. He called the assembly to witness, that he himself would neither oppose the Magistracy, nor teach them to do it.* He exhorted them with many words, that they should persevere in the doctrines which they had heard. At length, as if addressing them for the last time, he says, *Since these things are so, permit me also, brethren, to use the words of the Apostle; I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace.* This sentence impressed the wicked with wonderful force; the pious were also awakened to discharge their official duty with more vigilance and seriousness. The next day, Calvin, together with his colleagues and the Consistory, deliberately petitioned both the Senate and lower Council, *That as the law which committed the power of excommunication to the Consistory, was made by the people, so the people only should have the power of abrogating it.* The minds of the Senate were now greatly changed. It was determined, that the decree of the Council of two hundred should be suspended, and the opinion of the four Swiss cities obtained concerning the right of excommunication as exercised by the Consistory. In the mean time, the former laws were to remain in full force. The storm was thus rather suspended than dispersed.

Farel was at Geneva for his health, during the time of some of these transactions. In a publick discourse, relying on the justice of the cause, on his age and former influence, he reproved the factious with severity for their vices and seditious conduct. They resented his pointed admonitions, and after his return to Neufchatel, made their allegations, and fixed the day for his trial. An order was obtained from the Senate, addressed to the city of Neufchatel, demanding his presence at Geneva at the appointed time. Farel came accordingly, not however without danger from the violence of the disaffected, who declared, *that he deserved to be punished by being cast into the river Rhone.* A young man, of a deliberate and determined spirit, admonished Perrin, who was the principal leader in all opposition to religious restraints, *to see that Farel, the common father of their city, received no injury.* Being joined by another young man of equal resolution and integrity, they invited all the friends of order to assemble in the Senate chamber at the time of his trial. Almost the whole city were collected, when the venerable Farel entered the room. His accusers were astonished at the concourse, and became anxious for their personal safety. Farel was heard in his own defence, and acquitted: and his abusive enemies, with apparent regret for their conduct, sued to him for pardon.

The following Letters, written in the undisguised language of the most friendly correspondence, will afford additional light on the transactions of this tempestuous period.

"Calvin to Viret, wishes health.

"I would have been silent about our affairs, lest I should give you fruitless anxiety; but apprehending that the various reports might be more grievous, I thought it most prudent to give you a summary of the state of things here. The participation of the Supper being interdicted, six months ago, to Bertilier, he complained to the Senate; and we were called before that Council on his account. The cause being heard, the Senate declared, that he was justly excommunicated. From that time he remained quiet, either through despair or contempt. But now, lest the Syndicate of Perrin should be past, he requests the Senate to restore him without consulting the Consistory. Being again called, I endeavoured to prove to them by many arguments, that this could not be justly done, according to the established laws; and moreover, that it was not right to weaken in this way the discipline of the Church. However in my absence, and without consulting the Consistory, they granted him the privilege of partaking of the Lord's Supper. As soon as I was informed of this, I used all means in my power, to have the Syndicks call the Senate. I omitted nothing that could, in my opinion, tend to change their minds. I solemnly declared, that I was determined rather to suffer death, than thus basely profane the holy Supper of the Lord: as nothing could be more pernicious than that he, who had impudently derided and insulted the Church of God, should raise the standard of rebellion, and excite the vilest persons, and all who resembled him, to the same insolence and obstinacy. It was answered, *that the Senate changed nothing in their former decree.* Hence you will perceive, that I hold the ministry on this condition, that I must suffer the authority of the Consistory to be trodden under foot, and offer the Supper of the Lord to those who manifestly despise it, and who boast, that they regard not his Ministers. I would suffer a hundred deaths, rather than expose Christ to such contempt and insult. I shall not mention what I said in my two discourses yesterday, as it will be told by many. Now let these wicked and abandoned men have what they have long desired. The calamity of the Church sorely afflicts me as it ought. But if God grants so much to licentious adversaries, that the liberty of my ministry is destroyed by their violent commands, I have discharged the duties of my station. He who has inflicted the wound will provide the remedy. And indeed, since so great impunity of wickedness has been increasing now for many years, the Lord, perhaps, is preparing some judgment, the infliction of which I am unworthy to behold. On the whole, whatever may happen, it is our duty to be in subjection to his will. Farewell, beloved brother. May the Lord be always with you, govern and protect you. In return, pray that he may support this unhappy Church.———Geneva, Sept. 4, 1553."

Rodolphus Gualter, a colleague of Bullinger at Zurich, returning from Geneva, gave him an account of the faction and proceedings of Perrin and Bertilier. In a letter, dated Sept. 14, **Bullinger** writes to **Calvin** :—" My dear brother, I received your letter, and the information I derived from Gualter has rendered me extremely anxious. Do not retire, I beseech you, from that Church, which has so many excellent men. You should call to mind that passage in the Acts of the Apostles, *Fear not, for I have much people in this city.* And although the wicked and polluted are more numerous than we wish they were, yet many things are to be borne for the sake of the elect. Besides you are not ignorant how all those would leap for joy, who hate the true Gospel in France; and the extreme danger to which you would expose the French exiles, if you should depart from Geneva. Stay therefore, stay and bear whatever reproaches, contempt, dangers and sufferings the Lord shall please to bring upon you. The

Lord will not forsake you. *Through manifold tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God.*"

"CALVIN TO BULLINGER, wishes health.

"Respected brother,—I perceive by your letter, that you do not apprehend the extent of those evils, of which I complained to you. As the wicked know that I am constitutionally irritable, they have often, by various methods, endeavoured to move my indignation, and to shake my patience. But although I have had severe and difficult trials, yet they have in no instance obtained what they eagerly sought, that I should turn aside from the path of duty. I have long since been inured to all their stings. For the Lord has so exercised me, within a short time, among this people, that I have learned by much experience, how many things are to be borne by the Ministers of Christ. I hope the same Providence, which has hitherto sustained me, will inspire me with no less fortitude, through whatever trials he may lead me in future. Under his protection, and relying on his support, I will never willingly desert the station in which he has placed me. Nor indeed, when Mr. Gualter was lately here, was I so borne down with reproaches and indignities, as to have prepared myself to leave this place. But the wicked even then were entering upon measures, by which they designed to thrust me away, however unwilling.

"A certain person was deprived of the privilege of partaking of the Lord's Supper, until he should repent. Despising the judgment of the Church, he was determined, notwithstanding the sentence, to be admitted. And in order to overthrow entirely, by his obstinacy, the power of the Consistory, he had obtained from the lower Senate, what I was bound to refuse him. But knowing him to be a brazen faced man, and that the wicked had set him up against me, either to overpower me by his impudence, or to excite a tumult, I informed the Senate what I should do. But the baser faction prevailed, and I could obtain nothing just from that body. On the following day, (the Sabbath, Sept. 3,) our brother Gualter being present, I declared, that I would sooner suffer death, than prostitute the sacred bread of the Lord to an excommunicated person, whose express intention it was grossly to make a mockery of the Gospel, and to tread under foot the discipline of the Church. What I said in the afternoon, I wish you to read in the sermon itself, which our friend Beza translated into Latin. Do not suppose, that any thing has been changed; I have not inspected it. It was written by a Notary from my mouth as I delivered it. The affair was afterwards discussed in the Senate, and the good cause prevailed. The seditious have ceased, for a little while, to disturb that order of things which they desire to destroy. This pause, however, is only to take a more convenient opportunity to set every thing in commotion. But the day of the annual election is at hand, when they will doubtless attempt something. The Lord grant that their perverse counsels may be dissipated. The discipline which has been received in this Church, by the decree of the Senate and the people, I will certainly sooner sanction with my blood than suffer it to be destroyed before my eyes. If they hold me back from the duties of my office, I will sooner be compelled to depart, than give up my liberty, the loss of which would be the ruin of my ministry. Still I am by no means so hardened, but that I am most painfully exercised about the dissipation of this flock, which I foresee would be the consequence. But while I am examining what is lawful for me to do, I am confirmed in my purpose. Proceed, my brother, as you have done, to assist us by your prayers, that Christ may preserve to himself this fold.

"It is now the eighth day since the messenger returned from your Church. I am unable to express how much this Church is indebted for your faithful labours and discreet answer; and for speaking so affectionately and honourably of me and my Colleagues, and in commendation of our doctrines. We acknowledge ourselves individually under obligation to you and give you no common thanks. We should be pleased with an opportunity to contend with you in kind offices, but we know that you are satisfied with our disposition to do it. What will be done concerning the *man*, is not yet known. But as far as I am able to conjecture, he will be carried to the bar of the Senate to-morrow, and led to punishment the day after. Affairs in France continue in the same unhappy situation. Wherever there are objects of their violence, they do not spare their lives. At Dijon three will shortly be burnt, unless it has already been done. There is danger also, lest the commotions in Scotland should awaken the spirit of persecution. I mention this, that you may remember our unhappy brethren. At Nismes, it is reported, that there are seven or eight held in chains. There are also many in other cities of France. Farewell, most excellent man and beloved brother. Salute your fellow Ministers, your wife, sons in law and children. May the Lord be always with you, protect and guide you by his spirit. My colleagues salute you respectfully. Geneva, Oct. 26, 1553."

When Perrin and his party found that the Senate, upon more mature deliberation, would confirm the rights of the Consistory, they requested to have the question referred to the different Senates of Zurich, Bern, Schaffhausen and Basil. The Churches in these cities had not within themselves the power of excommunication. Delinquents in extreme cases were punished by the civil Magistrate. The following extract from Calvin's letter, with the *articles of discipline in* *the Genevese Church*, about which so much contention had been excited, will afford some light on this ecclesiastical controversy.

"CALVIN TO THE MINISTERS OF ZURICH.

"Respected brethren and fellow labourers; health and happiness.——For two years past, our condition has been the same as though we lived among the professed enemies of the Gospel. The last act is now performing. The enemies of the Gospel, having gained many victories, think they are about to enjoy a splendid triumph over Christ, his doctrines and Ministers, and finally his whole household. I pass over the barbarity, the insult and inhumanity, with which they have vexed the exiles, whom they received under their protection. The authors of these injuries are themselves witnesses, with what modesty, patience and endurance those strangers put up with all these indignities, when they had an immediate remedy in their own power. The impiety of those men has now reached its summit. Having thrown off all shame, they obstinately desire to convert the house of worship into a brothel. To exemplify their extreme depravity: When our brother Farel was here lately, to whom they owe themselves as you well know, he admonished them freely, by his own authority; and their fury was so enkindled, that they were not ashamed *to endeavour to procure sentence of death to be passed upon him.* I know it is no new thing, that in a free city factious men should be found, who stir up tumults. But the blindness of our Senate must be deplored, who demanded *that the father of their liberties, and the father of this Church, should be sent to them by the inhabitants of Neufchatel, as a criminal to be tried for his life.* I am compelled to say, that this was a disgrace to our city, a stain which I would gladly wash off with my blood.

Farel came, but before he entered the city, the Clerk of the Senate declared at my house that he should not ascend the pulpit. I will omit other things; it is sufficient to have given a specimen of this ingratitude, which will excite the indignation of all good and ingenuous minds. Many reasons forbid my deploring more freely the evils which prevail here. Take the whole in a word, unless the adversaries are restrained by your assistance, the reins will go loose upon the neck of their licentiousness. It becomes you to take as diligent care of us, as though the government of this Church was in your own hands. We will not be so difficult as to quit our station rather than yield our opinion to yours. All pious persons acknowledge, that we have hitherto been too complying, in order to avoid tumults. This, however, was when we had a full belief, that God was trying our patience by the wickedness of those men. But this victory must not be yielded to them, unless we will consent, knowingly and deliberately, to betray the whole authority of the Church into their hands. In that case, the ministerial office would go to destruction; the name of Christ would be subjected to the most opprobrious insults; the unbridled indulgence of their licentiousness in all evils would increase with redoubled outrage; and the pious would not only be obnoxious to all kinds of injuries, but would be wholly prostrated in affliction and misery. We are confident, therefore, that you will take care, and by your opinions assist the faithful who are here, that they may be liberated from these evils, and permitted to worship God with more quietness.

" Farewell, best and beloved brethren. May the Lord be with you, direct you by his Spirit, and afford you prudence, sufficient not only for watching over your own Church, but for the defence of others also. My Colleagues affectionately salute you, and anxiously recommend this Church to your faithfulness and prudence.

"Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

"GENEVA, November 26, 1553."

"THE PRINCIPAL HEADS OF THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA.

"Twelve years are now elapsed since this order of the Consistory, and the written laws were established in this city. These were passed by the Senate, and received and sanctioned by the suffrages of the whole people, as follows:

I. "If any one shall spread opinions contrary to the doctrines received in this Church, he shall be admonished in a friendly and brotherly manner: If he accepts this kindly, it shall be passed without any mark of disgrace: If he shall be obstinate, or pertinaciously addicted to his errour, he shall be seriously admonished, until the Consistory shall judge that there is a necessity for greater severity; and then he shall be interdicted the Supper, and referred to the Senate.

II. "If any shall neglect the sacred assemblies, and it appear to be done openly and with contempt; if any shall despise the ecclesiastical order, that it become reproached by their example, and the communion of the faithful be trampled upon, they shall be called to the Consistory, and admonished: If they shew themselves teachable and obedient, they shall be acquitted in a friendly manner: If they obstinately persist in that which is worse, after three admonitions, they shall be prohibited the use of the Supper, and that shall be reported to the Magistracy.

III. "Respecting the life of each individual, that course shall be pursued in correcting faults, which the Lord has prescribed: Namely, secret trespasses shall be privately reproved by mild admonitions, nor shall any call his brother to the examination of the Church for a fault, which is not connected with public scandal, until he shall have added stubbornness to the first offence.

IV. "Those who hold private admonitions in contempt shall be admonished again by the Church. If they remain obstinate, and although convicted by lawful testimony, persist in their obstinacy instead of supplicating pardon, they shall be debarred the use of the Supper until they repent.

V. "Respecting manifest and notorious sins, which the Church cannot overlook, this difference shall be used: An ordinary offence, for which the reproof of admonition may be sufficient, the Elders of the Consistory shall not prosecute any farther. Any one who neglects his duty shall be called to account for the example of others: If he asks pardon, he shall be forgiven; but if no repentance shall be manifested, the admonition shall be seriously repeated. Those who go on to the scandal of the Church shall be debarred the holy Supper, as despisers of God, until they shall give proof of repentance.

VI. "If the offence be more scandalous, and deserving a severer punishment than verbal reproof, the Judges of the Consistory shall take cognizance of it, that he who has so fallen may be debarred from the holy Supper of the Lord, for some short time, that he may humble himself before God.

VII. "If any one shall obstinately despise the judgment of the Consistory, and thrust himself forward to the sacred Table, he shall be repelled by the Minister.

VIII. "That moderation of discipline shall be observed, which may give no occasion for complaints on account of unreasonable severity, and so that the corrections may be altogether as useful medicines.

IX. "So also shall the Consistory confine itself within the limits of ecclesiastical government, that it may neither derogate nor diminish any thing from the ordinary power of the

Magistracy: And the Ministers of the word shall be contented with the spiritual sword, and not concern themselves with the civil jurisdiction, lest they take away any thing from the Magistracy. As often as causes shall be brought to the Consistory, the judgment of which may require civil punishment or coercion, the parties shall be sent to the Senate, which may exercise civil judgment at its own discretion.

"Besides, the Judges of the Consistory are not only the Ministers of the word, but double to their number of chosen Elders, who are elected partly from the upper Senate, and partly from the lower Senate, and usually one of the Syndicks presides."*

"BULLINGER TO CALVIN, wishes health.

"Their Excellencies, the Magistrates of Geneva, have written a letter to the illustrious Senate of our city. As it was written in French, the Chief Magistrate sent it to our brother Gualter, to be translated into German; thus it happened that I saw and read it. They proposed three questions to our Magistrates: 1. How, from the precept of God, and according to the scriptures, excommunication is to be exercised, and religion preserved pure? 2. Whether it can be exercised in any other way than by a Consistory? 3. What is the custom of our Church in this case? This letter was read in full Senate: and immediately, the Chief Magistrate and three Senators were deputed, to consult with the three associated Pastors of this Church, concerning the proper answer to be given. They consulted, and unanimously agreed, to write to the most noble Senate of Geneva, that we were very much grieved that they should be so much troubled, that debates and contentions should be heaped one upon another. That for a long time we had heard of the Consistorial Laws of that Church; and acknowledge them to be pious and consistent with the word of God; that they ought not to be changed by any innovation; and that it would be more prudent to preserve them entire, especially in this age, when men are waxing worse and worse. And although our discipline does not, in all respects, correspond with yours, yet yours is accommodated to the circumstances of times, places and persons, and we do not think that it should be subverted. But as you wish to know our method of proceeding in these cases, we send you the heads of our discipline drawn up in a few words. These things were agreed upon in our conference to-day, and to-morrow this answer will be laid before the whole Senate. How far it will meet with their approbation, I cannot say. I pray God, from my heart, that he would turn all these things to the glory of his name. We have laboured with much anxiety, that nothing should be done, that might have any tendency to subvert the good laws of your Church. We also exhort you to continue faithful to the Lord, and to use moderation in all things, so as not to lose, by any excess of rigour, those whom the Lord would have preserved, who does not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax. Farewell, most excellent man and beloved brother in the Lord. Eternal happiness to our brother Budeus; health to Count à Martinengis, to Galasius and the brethren.

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* See Letters, No. 54.

"In the utmost haste, Yours,

"HENRY BULLINGER,

"ZURICH, Dec. 12, 1553."

"P. S. I have just received a copy of the letter of our noble Senate. I see nothing different in the substance of it from what I have mentioned above. They even seriously exhort your Senate, to remain steadfast in those rules which they have heretofore received."

The answer of the Magistrates of the Swiss cities, approving of the Consistorial Laws, disappointed the faction of Perrin and Bertilier. This year was remarkable for the controversies which the wicked excited about doctrine and discipline. The issue was, however, on the whole successful to the cause of religion. Calvin, amidst his other labours, had prepared his Commentary on the Gospel of John, which was published with the following dedication:—

"To the magnificent Lords, the Syndicks and Senate of Geneva, truly respected in Christ, John Calvin wishes from the Lord the spirit of prudence and fortitude, and a prosperous and successful administration.

"As often as I call to mind the advice of Christ, by which he determines that the office of benevolence in the invitation of guests, is to adapt the terms of acceptance to their circumstances, at the same time, it occurs to me, that he has dignified you with singular honour, in appointing your city to be not the receptacle of an individual, or of a few strangers, but the common place of entertainment for his Church. Hospitality is esteemed one of the principal virtues. The wicked themselves extol it. And when persons are condemned as extremely barbarous and cruel in their manners, they are called αξενους, that is, *inhospitable*. But you have a still higher ground of praise, that in these turbulent and unhappy times, the Lord has selected you, as the protection and confidence of those pious and innocent men who are driven away from their dwellings and their country, by the cruel and sacrilegious tyranny of Antichrist. Neither is this all, but with you the sacred retreat is dedicated to his name, and he is here worshipped in purity. Whoever, therefore, endeavours to deprive you of these things, either privately or openly in the least degree, must do it not only to spoil your city of its principal ornaments, but must be maliciously hostile to its prosperity. Although then the offices of piety, which are here performed for Christ and his dispersed members, call forth the abusive reproaches of the impious, this one recompence ought abundantly to satisfy you, that the Angels from heaven, and the children of God from all parts of the world, pronounce you blessed. You may then justly disregard the foul reproaches of those who exercise no more religion or shame in their treatment of God himself, than in those malicious things which they utter against you. Indeed those who abuse you begin first by reproaching the Deity himself. Your treatment of the unhappy exiles may excite the hatred of many against you. There is, however, no danger to be feared from it, since he opposes the protection of his hand to arrest their rage, who has promised himself to be the defence and guardian of those cities, where there is a habitation for the doctrine of his gospel, and an ample residence for those pious men whom the world cannot endure. It is evident that the professed enemies of the true doctrines hate you, merely because of the protection which they see you afford them. Regardless of their machinations and threats, it becomes you to defend, with invincible constancy, these two bulwarks, the worship of the pure religion, and the pious care of cherishing the Church which Christ has committed to the shelter of your wings. What signify the reproaches, with which the Popish janglers of the tavern attack us, as having fallen off from the Church, because we have departed from the Romish platform? I wish that we were able to testify, before God and Angels, with entire confidence, that we had departed as far from her pollutions, as the proof of those crimes with which she oppresses us, is easy and expeditious. They indeed glory in the title of the *Catholick Church*, who yet leave no part of the doctrines of the law and Gospel uncontaminated by their depravations; who corrupt the whole worship of God with their superstitions; and who are not ashamed to adulterate all the institutions of God with their fictions. Indeed, so *Catholick* is the mass of errours, by which they destroy all piety, that it might be sufficient to supply a hundred Churches with the means of corruption and ruin. We shall never be able to extol, according to its richness, the immense goodness of God, by which our deliverance has been effected from that vortex of death; so that we have an anchor of faith reaching its hold on the solid and eternal truth of God. That the Papacy is a deformed body, compounded of innumerable inventions of Satan, spread over the Church, with a confusion and discordance like that of Babylon, the following commentary will, I trust, be a luminous witness. In the mean time, I ingenuously confess, that from the contagion of her pollutions, which spread themselves far and wide, we are not sufficiently removed. Antichrist complains, that we have departed from him; but we are compelled to mourn that we have with us too many of the remnants of those vices which infect the world. We have restored to us the sincere purity of doctrine, a sound devotion, the pure worship of God, and the genuine order of the Sacraments, such as Christ delivered to his Church; but the principal reason why that correction of life and morals prevails so much less than it ought, is that a great part of the people, still remembering that unbridled licentiousness, in which the Papists indulge themselves without restraint, cannot be brought to submit to the yoke of Christ. Our enemies, however, that they may injure us among the ignorant, falsely declare, that we are without any discipline or order. But this one thing would abundantly refute their calumny, if we should be silent, that we have no greater contests among ourselves than those about our immoderate rigour, as our discipline is indeed accounted by many. You are the best witnesses, for me and my colleagues, that we are not more austere and restrictive than the obligation of our office requires and compels us to be. We therefore rest ourselves on the correct judgment of your consciences, which are prompt to judge from things before you, concerning us, and on the other hand, to perceive how ridiculous is the impudence of the Papists.

"I will now say some things of myself. Although my numerous writings, I trust, would testify to the world, how I have governed this Church, yet I have judged it proper to produce some appropriate monument of the fact, which should bear the inscription of your name. It is of great moment, that the nature of the doctrine, which you know is taught by me, should be produced before all. As in the books which I have hitherto published, I have studied to profit both you and the people under your government, after my death, it is by no means becoming that the doctrine, which hath flowed from your city to foreign nations, producing abundant fruit on every side, should be neglected in this Church. He who dedicates this Commentary to you will, I trust, have a more abiding hold upon your memories. That this may be the case, I pray God himself to infix these truths upon your hearts, with his own finger, that they may never be erased by the wiles of the adversary. It is God only who can give success to my labours, who gave me this mind in the first place, that I should have nothing more at heart than to provide faithfully for the salvation of you all. That I am at a great distance from the exact diligence of a good Pastor, and from other virtues which the magnitude and excellency of the office demands, I ingenuously confess before the world; and I most assiduously deplore before God the many sins which obstruct my course. This, however, I confidently profess, that I have not been wanting in faith and correctness of disposition. If, however, the wicked do not cease to complain, as it is my part to confute their calumnies, by well doing, so it is yours to restrain them as much as you are able by a sacred exercise of your authority. Farewell, most noble Lords, highly respected by me in Christ, to whose protection I commend you.

"GENEVA, January 1, 1553."

The progress and establishment of the Reformation in England were interrupted by the premature death of Edward VI. He was celebrated for an amiable disposition, and unusual talents in the acquirement of learning. Hooper, in a letter to Bullinger, written in 1550, observes, "For a thousand years there has not been any person of his age, (thirteen), who had such a mixture both of piety and learning, with so true a judgment as appeared in him. If he should live, and go on suitably to these beginnings, he would be the wonder and terrour of the world. He took notes of all the sermons he heard; and after dinner, he asked the young persons that were bred up with him, an account of what they remembered of the sermon, and went over the whole matter with them."* Calvin, in 1551, published his Commentaries on Isaiah, and the Canonical Epistles, and dedicated them to Edward; he wrote also some private letters to this young Prince, to stir up his excellent disposition, in forwarding the work of Reformation in the Church. Edward succeeded his father, Henry VIII., in 1547, at the age of nine years; and during the seven years of his reign, the progress of the cause of religion was extensively advanced under the influence of Cranmer, Somerset, Ridley, Grindal, Peter Martyr, Bucer,† Dr. Cox, and many others, who revised the Liturgy and Articles of the English Church from most of the corruptions of Popery. The letters of Calvin to the Duke of Somerset, to Cranmer, to Edward, and the Lords of the Council,* and his theological writings had their proportionate influence in the revision of the Liturgy in 1552, and also in 1562, under Queen Elizabeth. Heylin himself states, that the only cause which led to the revision of the Liturgy in 1550, was the influence of Calvin, and that some things were rejected, and some articles *superinduced*, in the revision of the Liturgy, in compliance with his opinion.

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* Burnet, Hist. of Reform. vol. 3, p. 198.

† See Notes and Biog. No. 14.

The same writer, in his zeal against the Presbyterians, says, "That he (Calvin) had his emissaries in the Court and among the Clergy; his agents in the city and country; his intelligencers (one Monsieur Nicholas among the rest) in the University. All of them active and industrious to advance his purposes; but none more mischievously practical than John Alasco, a Polonian born, but a profest Calvinian." He then charges Alasco with introducing the table and posture of sitting at the Lord's Supper first in England; and adds—"Not to proceed to more particulars, let it suffice, that these *emissaries* (of Calvin, Peter Martyr, Fagius, Bucer, Alasco, and others) did so ply their work, by continual soliciting of the King, the Council and Convocation, that at last the book (of Common Prayer) was brought to a review. The product and result whereof was the *second Liturgy* confirmed in Parliament, anno 5, 6, Edw. VI., 1552.————Thereupon we may conclude, that *the first Liturgy was discontinued, and the second superinduced upon it, after this review, to give satisfaction unto* CALVIN'S *cavils, the curiosities of some, and the mistakes of others of his friends and followers.*"†

In consequence of the answers of the Helvetick Churches, approbating the Consistory, on the 2d of Feb. 1554, the difficulties were, by solemn promise in the presence of the Senate, consigned to oblivion. The faction, however, still dissatisfied with restraints, increased in their immoralities, and pursued their former purposes. Calvin exerted his extensive influence to recal them to an honourable course of life; and to strengthen the virtuous against their contagious examples. Their habits of perversity were, however, too strong to be corrected by persuasive means. Disappointed but not humbled, in the desperate hope of success, they turned the word of God into obscene songs, for the purpose of ridiculing the Psalms which were sung in the worship of Geneva. The exiles, who had resorted to the city for protection, and who were strongly attached to Calvin, were grossly insulted, and even robbed in their evening walks. On the accession of Queen Mary, persecutions began against the Reformers in England, and great numbers were driven into Germany and Switzerland. Providence opened, in these countries, a secure retreat for the friends of the pure doctrines, who had a few years before, under the oppressive *Interim* of Charles V., received the exiled Germans with hospitality in England. Calvin felt a deep interest in the welfare of the English, who took up their residence at Vesel, Embden and Frankfort. Being of different opinions on the subject of Church order and worship, those at Frankfort applied to Calvin for advice. His answer is interesting, and as Dr. Heylin has translated it, it shall be given, verbatim, from his History of the Presbyterians.

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* See Letters, Nos. 36—42, 45, 53.

† Heylin, pp. 206, 207.

"CALVIN TO THE ENGLISH AT FRANKFORT, wishes health.

"It is no small affliction to me, and in itself no less inconvenience, that a contention should be raised between brethren professing the same faith, and living as banished men or exiles for the same religion; especially for such a cause, which, in this time of your dispersion, ought to have been the bond of peace to bind you the more firmly to one another. For what ought rather to be aimed at by you in this woful condition, than that being torn away from the bowels of your native country, you should put yourselves into a Church, which might receive you in her bosom conjoined together (like the children of the same parent) both in hearts and tongues? But at this time, in my opinion, it is very unreasonable that troubles should be raised amongst you about ceremonies, and forms of prayer (as happens commonly amongst those who live in wantonness and ease), by means whereof you have been hindered hitherto from growing into one body. I do not blame the constancy of those men, who being unwillingly drawn into it, do earnestly contend in an honest cause; but rather the stubbornness of those, which hitherto hath hindered the holy purpose of forming and establishing a Church amongst you. For as I use to shew myself both flexible and facile in things indifferent, as all rites and ceremonies are, yet I cannot always think it profitable to comply with the foolish waywardness of some few men, who are resolved to remit nothing of their ancient customs. I cannot but observe many tolerable fooleries in the English Liturgy, such as you have described it to me;—*in Anglicana Liturgia, qualem describitis, multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias.* By which two words, (those names of tolerable fooleries) I mean only this, that there is not such purity or perfection, as was to be desired in it; which imperfections, notwithstanding, not being to be remedied at the first, were to be borne with for a time, in regard that no manifest impiety was contained in them. It was therefore so far lawful to begin with such beggarly rudiments (*a talibus elementis*), that the learned, grave and godly Ministers of Christ might be thereby encouraged for proceeding farther, in setting out somewhat which might prove more pure and perfect. If true religion had flourished till this time in the Church of England, it had been necessary that many things in that book should have been omitted, and others altered to the better. But now that all such principles are out of force, (*Nunc quum eversis illis principiis*) and that you were to constitute a Church in another place, and that you were at liberty to compose such a form of worship which might be useful to the Church, (*de integro componere*) and more conduce to edification, than the other did; I know not what to think of those who are so much delighted with the dregs of Popery, (*quid sibi velint nescio, quos fæcis Papisticæ reliquiæ tantopere delectant.*) But commonly men love those things best to which they have been most accustomed. Which though in the first place it may seem a vain and childish folly, yet in the next place it may be considered, that such a *new model* is much different from an alteration, (*nova institutio*). Howsoever, as I would not have you too stiff and peremptory, if the infirmity of some men suffer them not to come up to your own desires; so I must needs admonish others, not to be too much pleased with their wants and ignorances; nor to retard the course and progress of so good a work by their own perverseness; nor finally, to be transported in the manner by such foolish emulation. For what other ground have they for this contention, but that they think it a disgrace to yield unto better counsels? But possibly I may address my words in vain to those, who peradventure may not ascribe so much unto me, as to vouchsafe to hearken unto any advice which doth proceed from *such a despicable author*, (*a tali auctore.*) If any of them fear that any sinister report will be raised of them in England, as if they had forsaken that religion for which they put themselves into voluntary exile, they are much deceived. For this ingenuous and sincere profession will rather compel those godly men, which are left behind, seriously to consider what a deep abyss they are fallen into;

whose dangerous estate will more grievously wound them, when they shall see that you have travelled beyond the middle of that course, from which they have been so unhappily retracted, or brought back again. Farewell, my most dear brethren, the faithful servants of Jesus Christ; and be you still under the governance and protection of the Lord your God.

"GENEVA, January 15, 1554."

The controversy still continued. Dr. Cox, who had been tutor to Edward VI., and one of the principal revisers of the Liturgy in 1552, was with others strenuous to adhere to the English forms. Sir Francis Knollis, Mr. Knox, Mr. Goodman, and Mr. Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham, were determined upon a still farther reform in their Liturgy. In this situation Dr. Cox and fourteen others addressed a letter to Calvin for his advice. The following is the answer.

"CALVIN TO Cox and his associates, Salutem dicit.

"I have delayed answering your letter, excellent men and beloved brethren, longer perhaps than you hoped or expected. But when you know that the way has, for sometime, been beset by robbers, so that a messenger can with difficulty go to you from this place, you will readily pardon me this delay. I have freely communicated to our good brother Thomas Sampson, what I learned from the letters of some persons concerning the unhappy contest which was agitated among you. Some of my friends also complain, that you defend, with such precision, the English ceremonies, as shows you evidently to be too strongly wedded to the forms of your country. I confess I have heard the reasons which you publickly allege, as forbidding you to depart at all from the established forms; but they were such as admitted a prompt and easy confutation. As I have exhorted those who dissent from you, that they should yield all the moderation possible, so I was displeased, that on your part, you conceded or remitted nothing. But as the name of no individual was expressly mentioned to me, I dared not make any interposition, lest my confidence should expose me to the accusation of rashness. But I now rejoice, that you have been more courteous and tractable about this controversy; and that the whole business has been amicably adjusted. Surely no one, I believe, in his sound judgment, will deny, that *Tapers, Crosses,* and the fopperies of this vanity, have proceeded from superstition. Whence I conclude, that those who retain them, from their own deliberate opinion, too passionately drink from the dregs. I see no reason why the Church should be burdened by such frivolous and impertinent ceremonies; not to call them pernicious, the proper epithet, when the liberty is permitted you of composing a pure and simple order of worship. But I restrain myself, lest I may appear to excite new differences about a matter that is, as I hear from you, now well settled. This indeed I do not dissemble, that in my opinion, it was neither done in a pious nor brotherly manner, if N. (Knox) was called in question on any clandestine information of individuals. It would have been better for you to have remained in your own country, than to kindle the fire of unjust cruelty in a foreign country, which may inflame others, however unwilling. But as it grieves me to touch even lightly upon crimes, the memory of which I wish was buried in perpetual oblivion, I will only exhort you, my respected brethren, to give all diligence to pacify the minds of those whom you perceive to be justly agitated at the offence of those individuals. When I heard that some were determined to leave that City, (Frankfort) I earnestly admonished them, as was my duty, that if it was not convenient for them all to dwell together in the same place, by no means to suffer the distance of places to destroy their brotherly communion. I was apprehensive, that some secret dislike, from their former contentions, might still remain. Nothing will be more grateful to me, than to be delivered from this apprehension. For if any should come to this city, the very suspicion of a secret dissension among yourselves would grieve me much. I hope, therefore, that what you write of the free reconciliation may be firm, and extensively lasting; so that if any part should go forth to any other place, you may, notwithstanding local distance, still cultivate a holy friendship. There has been sin enough already committed, although discord should proceed no farther. But prudence and equity demand of you, carefully to purge away whatever of alienation may still remain, that you may be held together in the bonds of charity. May the Lord protect you by his power, direct you by his Spirit, follow you with his blessing, and mitigate the afflictions of your banishment.

"GENEVA, June 12, 1554."

Notwithstanding the plain and pacifick advice of Calvin, those who were in favour of reforming the Liturgy were under the necessity of removing from Frankfort. They took refuge in Geneva, and established an English Church in conformity to the Presbyterian order. Knox and Goodman were the Pastors, who afterwards returned to Scotland, and the other members, after the death of Mary, to England.

During this year, a controversy arose between the Ministers of the French Church at Strasburg, about the Eucharist. The following letter will present some things not uninteresting. Jerome Zanchius is the brother designated by the letter N. as appears from Melchior Adam's Life of Zanchius, and from Bayle.

"J. CALVIN TO DR. MARPACHIUS, Pastor of the Church of STRASBURG.

"For almost six months, I have heard, with great grief, many things about the disturbances in the French Church which is with you. While those few wicked and obstinate men are determined to trouble our brother N. their outrage is the cause, which disturbs with contention that little Church, to which the Lord granted a place of refuge among you. It is not strange that this news should be sad and severe to me; for the scattering of this flock would wring my very heart with sorrow; as it was God's will that I should formerly collect them by my labour, and cherish them for a season. Although I was very anxious, that some remedy should be seasonably applied; yet as I hoped that whatever tumults were excited they would be easily quelled by your and your brother's prudence and moderation, I thought it best for me to remain silent, lest I might give you unnecessary trouble, or appear to distrust your equity. But as it is rumoured, that affairs are daily growing worse, I determined to write to you, for my grief would not allow me to be silent any longer. But while I am reflecting on this, behold a more joyful messenger announces, that your most noble Senate are taking proper measures to restrain the audacity of those five wicked men; that now the commotions are quieted; and that the state of things is at least tolerable. I wish all things were settled according to our prayers, so that nothing should remain but for me to congratulate, upon pure and stable grounds. But as there is yet a certain sad suspicion and fear of what is still to come, I thought it was my duty to give all diligence to remove this evil. Two things, as far as I can understand, were the principal causes of all these evils. In the beginning, N. was complained of for thinking and teaching differently from you on *the Lord's Supper*. I will not say by whom, or with what intention, the means of peace should have been used. The trial of the cause was commenced. But if the business had been transacted with good faith, it ought to have been dismissed. He who had been accused gave a confession of his faith. How true, how evident, and how full, I do not determine. This is sufficient for me, that it was admitted. Therefore I have thus heretofore thought with myself, that the opinion of your brother and fellow Minister, if not wholly approbated by your silence, was declared tolerable. It is not to be supposed, that during this time you were obliquely contriving any secret artifices. Could I suppose, therefore, but that more than was just had been granted to those five unprincipled men, by which they were enabled to disturb the Church? This ought to be examined, in order, by you all, whether it is lawful or becoming, indeed whether it is right and courteous, to cherish against their Pastor five turbulent men, who have openly separated from the body of the Church. But as this wound is now healed, I return to the first subject. I do not sufficiently comprehend what was demanded of N. more than he performed. You ought to be careful, that he should not be pressed with too much precision. If that excellent servant of God, and faithful Doctor of the Church, *Luther*, was now living, even he would not be so severe or implacable, but that he would willingly admit this confession, that what the Sacraments represent is truly given us; and therefore in the Lord's Supper we are made partakers of the body and blood of Christ. For how often has he declared, that the only ground of his contention was, that it might be manifest, that the Lord did not trifle with us, by empty signs, but that he effected within, what he proposed to our eyes, and thence the effect was connected with the signs. This is agreed upon among us, unless I am greatly deceived, that the Lord's

Supper is not a theatrical spectacle of the spiritual food, but that what is represented is really given; because at the Supper the pious souls are fed with the flesh and blood of Christ. Although I address myself to you, rather in the character of an intercessor, than of an instructor, yet I must freely say, that those would be too morose, who, not contented with this moderation, would depose their brother from the ministry. Besides, it is a pernicious example, that he who was rightly, and in order, called to the office of Pastor, should be deposed without a lawful judgment of the Church, and at the mere will of the Senate. It indeed begins to be the custom in many places; but I have often seen it fall on the heads of those who knowingly and wilfully betrayed the rights of the Church. The sacred memory of *Capito* and *Bucer*, which still flourishes among all the pious, and will, I hope, long flourish, whose faith and prudence, erudition and integrity, were well known, still, like a lamp, illuminates that place, so that whatever is done on either side by you, will be more conspicuous, and more publick for an example. Whatever was their form of worship, in preserving the order of the Church, they would have suffered death ten times, before they would have approved, I do not say by their consent, but even by their silence, of the forcible deposition of a Pastor. If you, or your colleagues, should hope to derive any benefit from my presence, verily I should not refuse the labour of going. Indeed I would the more willingly go to you, because I see myself also involved in this controversy. It would be very afflicting to me, to see that kind of doctrine, which I formerly so freely taught there, both in the Church and the school, rejected with slight. But I would not be too importunate. I did not intend to proceed farther than by asking, advising, entreating and exhorting you, that I might procure, in this way, the peace of my pious brother, and of the unhappy little Church. If I hear that I have obtained the object, I so much desire, it will afford us all very great joy. Farewell, excellent man, with my dearest brethren, your fellow Ministers, who with you govern that Church, to whom, if you think proper, I wish the contents of this letter to be made known. May the Lord protect you all, and direct you with the spirit of prudence, rectitude, equity and constancy, and may he bless your labours. Amen.

"Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

"GENEVA, August 24, 1554."

The following letter, written to the excellent and learned Sleidan, in the confidence of friendship, relates to the affairs of the Church at Strasburg:—

"CALVIN TO JOHN SLEIDAN, wishes health.

"Being informed lately, by the letter of our brother N.—— that you were one of the three, appointed by the Senate to to govern the French Church, I was, as might be expected, greatly rejoiced; and I trust that this will long be to me a matter of joy. For I conclude, that this office was imposed upon you rather by the wisdom of God than of man, that by your prudence and fidelity you might quiet those disturbances which the adversary has hitherto excited. From this circumstance you will therefore take care, that no occasion be given to the wicked to raise any tumult. Now then that little flock has been provided for according to the prayer of my heart. It is not from fear that I refrain from exhorting you to your duty, but because I esteem it to be unnecessary. How much I ought to rejoice at the agreement of Melancthon with us in one thing, I know not; since on the chief points, he openly attacks the sound doctrine, and is either selling himself to the Philosophers, or for fear of exciting the hatred of some individuals against himself, he craftily, or at least disingenuously, conceals his opinion. May the Lord grant him a stronger resolution, lest from his timidity posterity suffer an extensive injury.

"Within three months, five or six have been burnt in Aquitaine, in whose death Christ has gloriously triumphed. Lately also, in a town of the Venetian Republick, a little beyond Vulturnia, a pious man, well known to me, confessed Christ with admirable constancy, to the last breath. We have nothing new, but what is equally known to you. Farewell, excellent and much respected man.* May the Lord always protect and bless you, together with your family. Concerning the Turkish fleet we have received more certain news, that having burnt some towns, laid waste the maritime country, and taken 5000 prisoners, they have returned to Greece.

"GENEVA, September 26, 1554."

During this year, Calvin wrote many letters to forward the work of Reformation in foreign parts; and laboured to strengthen the faith of different Churches, and of the persecuted brethren. He finished about this time his learned and elaborate Commentary upon Genesis.

The two following are selected from the many letters which the Genevese Reformer wrote about this time:—

"CALVIN TO MARTYR, wishes health.

"Although our friend John Sturmius, when he gave me his advice concerning the dedication of my Commentaries, added that you were of the same mind, yet it was far more pleasing to be informed of the same by your own letter. One thing I fear, that my work, for which you manifest so much regard, will not be worthy of so high estimation. But how happens it, that you are silent about your own Commentaries on the same book, (Genesis)? From your answer to Robert Stephens, when you were in England, I expected that they would be shortly published. I am sorry, that the Church of God should be so long deprived of those advantages, which I believe will be extensive. In the present confused mass of books, it is of the first importance, that the weighty, learned and solid studies of pious and well-thinking men, who are endowed with equal authority and judgment, should be published; both to defend the purity of doctrine, that it may descend unsullied and entire to posterity, and to repress the absurd levity of those, who throw all things into confusion. Concerning Melancthon, I feel very much grieved. It is not sufficient for him to waver, and turn which way soever the favour of men will carry him, or betray the truth by silence; but he must endeavour to bring over to his effeminacy the firm servants of God, whose example it would rather become him to imitate. You have done excellently well, in professing yourself a free defender of the true doctrine. For thus, by your example, a rule is prescribed to him, how far peace is to be cherished, that he may at length learn to aspire to some portion of a determined mind. I have written to your colleague, at the request of Sturmius, who would too submissively gratify him. However this may succeed in pacifying that N——, I shall never repent of having attempted something. If some have fallen off, it is your duty to bear with more fortitude the burden which is imposed upon you. Since I am fully convinced that you do this, I am more and more confirmed in the opinion, that you were detained at Strasburg by the wonderful

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* John Sleidan, the German historian, was born 1506, and died at Strasburg 1556. He wrote the history of the state of religion and publick affairs, in 25 books, from 1517 to 1555. This history is esteemed, by the learned, to be well and faithfully written, and his authority is respected. James Sturmius, a magistrate of Strasburg, whose influence was great in the Reformation in that city, assisted Sleidan in his history. James Sturmius died October, 1553.

Providence of God, that you might give assistance to that troubled Church. Please to salute Zanchius in my name. Our friend the Marquis salutes you. Farewell, most excellent man, and respected brother. May the Lord be with you always, govern you and bless your labours. If your letters had arrived sooner, your advice would have rendered the exhortation to the Princes more copious. But I did not receive them till after the middle of August. My colleagues salute you.

"Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

"GENEVA, August 26, 1554."

"CALVIN TO MELANCTHON, S. D.

"I am grieved, and very much wonder, that my last letter has not been answered by you. I cannot however suspect that this arises from pride or contempt; as nothing could be more inconsistent with your disposition and habits. Having found, therefore, a messenger who offers to take the trouble of carrying my letter to you, I thought I would again attempt to draw something from you. I do not say this, because I question your love for me, which was always beyond measure; but because I judge your silence to be prejudicial to the Church of God. It is on this account that it ought to be afflicting and troublesome to me.

"I wrote lately on that point of doctrine, about which you more dissemble your own opinion than differ from us. For what else can I think of a man of most penetrating judgment, and so eminently skilled in the divine doctrines? Since no one, who is moderately conversant in the sacred writings, conceals that which you yourself cover as unknown. And yet the knowledge of the gratuitous mercy of God is destroyed from the foundation, unless we hold this, that it is by the mere good pleasure of God, that the faithful, whom he has chosen to salvation, are separated from the wicked; and unless this is allowed also, that faith emanates from the secret election of God; because he illuminates, by his Spirit, those whom it seemed good to him to choose before they were born, and plants them by the grace of adoption, in his family. Consider, with your usual prudence, how absurd it is, that this doctrine should be unsettled by so eminent a Divine. You must see, that it will afford a very pernicious example, if in our writings such a manifest difference should be observed. Nor will I prescribe this rule for removing differences, that you should assent to my opinion; but let us by no means be ashamed to subscribe to the holy oracles of God. I will readily embrace whatever method of conciliation shall be pointed out as agreeable to you. Behold ignorant and turbulent men on your side, renewing the sacramentarian war; while all the good sigh and complain that such men encourage themselves by your silence. For although ignorance is bold, yet no one doubts, but that if you profess publickly what you think, you would subdue, or at least, in a great measure, you would easily appease their intemperance. I am not so ignorant of human nature, that I cannot consider with myself, and point out to others also, the kind of men with whom you have to deal; how the confusion of affairs keeps you anxious and perplexed; how many things must be circumspectly observed by you, which impede and delay your progress. But nothing is so injurious as your dissimulation. This loosens the curb upon these furious men, to disturb and excite divisions in the Churches. I will not mention how dear an ingenuous profession of the true doctrine ought to be to us. You know that, for more than thirty years, the eyes of an innumerable multitude have been fixed on you, desiring nothing more than to submit themselves to your instruction. What? Are you ignorant, that many hang in suspence, from that ambiguous form of teaching, to which you adhere with too much timidity. But if you are not free to be honest to yourself, and teach substantially what is useful to be known, you are at least bound to exert yourself to bridle the intemperate violence of those, who are officiously raising tumults about nothing. For what, I beseech you, would these men have? Luther exclaimed, through his whole life, that he contended for nothing, but to assert that efficacy which he attributed to the sacraments. It is agreed, that they are not empty forms, but that they give truly what they represent: that in Baptism the efficacy of the Spirit is present, to wash and regenerate us: that the holy Supper is a spiritual feast, in which we are truly fed by the flesh and blood of Christ. In quelling the tumults, therefore, which these preposterous men have again excited, the cause is of too great interest to suffer us to yield it up through the fear of hatred. You cannot indeed escape these various agitations, in the course you are pursuing. All our exertions are to be directed to this single point, that the brazen wall of a good conscience may firmly support us, not only in these, but in all the violent attacks with which the whole world may assault us. Already I hear you called, by the patrons of *Osiander*, too flexible, and charged with being more devoted to profane philosophy than to the doctrines of revelation. This reproach wounds me more severely, than if those malicious and perverse men should object against you that which it would be not only honourable for you to confess, but magnificently glorious for you to proclaim as your opinion. Farewell, dearest man and brother, respected by me above others. May the Lord be your defence, and continue to guide you by his Spirit even unto the end.

"Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

"GENEVA, August 26, 1554."

The union of sentiment among the Swiss Churches, about the Lord's Supper, had, for several years, been a source of strong consolation to the Pastors and pious brethren. This agreement, however, had been equally an object of hatred to the factious spirits of errour. At this time, Joachim Westphal, a man of much intemperate violence, rekindled the fire of controversy. He was strongly bigoted in favour of Consubstantiation, and severe in his opposition to the doctrine of Zuinglius and Calvin about the Eucharist. Heshusius, Minister at Heidleburg,* followed up the attack of Westphal, and severely abused the mild and perhaps too temporizing Melancthon. He also opposed the articles of union between the Helvetick Churches, relative to the Lord's Supper. Calvin published an explanation of the articles of agreement, which greatly established the friends of peace, while it increased the violence of Westphal and Heshusius against the opinions of those Churches on that subject. Those who wish to travel over the ground of the controversy, concerning the spiritual nature of the Lord's Supper, on the one hand, and the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the consecrated elements, on the other, will find in the tracts of Calvin, in answer to Westphal, Heshusius and the Magdeburgenses, &c. an ample and elaborate discussion of that much controverted question. These different tracts were published in 1554, 1556, 1557, and 1561.†

The following letter exhibits the state of Calvin's mind, concerning the controversy which Westphal had excited :—

"CALVIN TO FAREL, Salutem dicit.

"My dear Farel—Although I might justly glory in the reproaches, which virulent and petulant tongues heap upon me, since they rail at me for nothing, but what I believe God and his Angels approve, yet notwithstanding, I earnestly desire to be secreted in some retirement; if in that way their fury, which appears to be enkindled by my presence, might be abated. I do not speak of the worthless, whom I have long since learned to estimate as they deserve. But it is to me a source of substantial grief, to see Heaven constantly assaulted by giants, out of hatred to me. Let us, however, bear it patiently, since we know that it is by the direction of divine Providence, that we are tossed about by so great tempests. Westphal has published an illiberal book against me, to which I know not whether it is expedient to give an answer. Some of my friends request me to do it. When I have read it, the Lord will direct to what is best. You seem to suppose, that I can produce a volume in a moment, and would have me publish more Commentaries than could be written in the course of a long life, by one who was freed from all other cares. How much leisure time, do you suppose I have, after discharging my official duties? I wish others would undertake to refute those aggressive works. I will most earnestly advise Melancthon to this task; but you know how dilatory he is. Farewell, best and most beloved brother. May the Lord be always with you, protect and support you. My brethren and friends salute you much, and among others our friend Beza, who is now with me.

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* See Bayle.

† See Opuscula Calvini, p. 648—744.

"GENEVA, October 10, 1555."

The labours, the trials and successive contests, which Calvin had to pass through, in preserving the order, and promoting the purity of the Church of Geneva, were extremely arduous. Love to the cause of Christ was his ruling passion. In seeking first the kingdom of God, he seems to have lost sight of every other object. His confidence in the special

Providence of his Master, was unremitting. He was firm in his hope, that the sunshine of peace would ultimately be enjoyed in that Church. In a person, whose feelings were so acute, and affections so strong as his were, for the purity of doctrine and discipline, the immoralities and crimes of the members of that Church must have caused the most painful sensations. The day however of better things, to the Church and Republick of Geneva, was now at hand. In the beginning of the year 1555, the authors of sedition against ecclesiastical restraints prepared the way for their own destruction. They fell victims to the storm, which was raised by their desperate wickedness. Some of the leaders were capitally punished; others fled from their country; and all of them came to a shameful end, furnishing an example of the slow but just judgment of God, against the enemies of his Church.

Calvin, in a letter to Bullinger, gives a concise statement relative to the downfal of Perrin and his faction.*

The Republick of Geneva was now freed from those factious leaders, who had opposed the order of the Church, and disturbed the administration of justice. The crafty, ambitious and immoral Perrin, who had so long continued his baneful labours, was now completely disgraced, and had fled to escape punishment. The former edicts concerning the ecclesiastical polity were reenacted, by the unanimous suffrages of the citizens. A new tone was given to the morals of the people; and the affairs of the Church were conducted in comparative peace.

The King of Poland, having read Calvin's Tract concerning *The Reformation of the Church*, became interested to introduce the principles of reform more extensively into the Churches of his country. He requested a correspondence with the Divine of Geneva; whose letters to the King, and other distinguished persons in Poland, are a proof of his assiduity in promoting the cause of Christ in its purity.

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* See Letters, No. 52.

This year, Mary, Queen of England, pursued the work of persecution with great violence. Eight hundred persons were put to death, at different times, by various kinds of punishment. Among the great number of Ministers, who were burnt, *Nicholas Ridley*, *Hugh Latimer*, *John Hooper*, *Robert Ferrar*, and *Thomas Cranmer*, were distinguished Martyrs. The remains of of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius were dug up, and committed to the flames, after having been buried about four years.* Calvin was deeply afflicted at the death of those eminent English Reformers. With Cranmer he had, for several years, a correspondence, which had a salutary influence in reforming the Liturgy of the English Church. In France also, persecutions at this time prevailed. Calvin addressed a consolatory letter to his brethren, who were in chains. And he gave the most animating instructions, to encrease the fortitude, and strengthen the patience, of the five Martyrs, who were burnt at Cambray.

Matthew Gribauld, a Lawyer, who maintained some heretical notions concerning the being of God and the Person of Christ, had, for several years, occasionally visited Geneva.† Some Italians, who had been under his instruction at Padua, introduced him to Calvin, with whom he requested to have a private dispute, upon some of his own theological dogmas. Calvin agreed, on condition that there should be proper witnesses present at the discussion. This he refused. When he came again to that city, Calvin informed him, by a friend, that he was free to confer with him, in the presence of his brother Ministers, and three *Ecclesiastibus Senioribus–Church Elders*; assuring him, that he need fear no danger from any disclosure of his sentiments. Gribauld agreed to the proposal, and came to the appointed place, where Calvin and the others were assembled. Calvin declined giving him his hand, and excused himself from using any deceitful ceremonies with one, who differed so materially on the essential points of religion. He declared, that it was improper to put on appearances, where there was no real cordiality, but on the contrary an entire hostility of sentiment; and that if they could agree on the essential principles of faith, he should feel and would treat him with all due respect. Upon this Gribauld left the room in a turbulent manner. The seeds of heretical opinions were sown by this man, among some of the members of the Italian Church, which was under the pastoral care of the amiable and learned *Count Martinenges.*[*] He was the intimate friend of Calvin, and while he lived he governed his little flock at Geneva with peculiar care. At his death, he committed them to the fatherly protection of Calvin, expressing great anxiety, lest those pernicious principles of Gribauld should prevail to their ruin. The progress of heresy is from moderate suggestions to bold impieties. So it was with Gribauld. He escaped punishment by fleeing from Tubingen, where he had been introduced as Professor of Law, by the favour of Vergerius. By the Senate of Geneva he was excluded from that city. He was afterwards apprehended at Bern, and upon his recantation, was released. But soon after, he avowed the same opinions, and was apprehended. Being seized by the plague, he died in prison, and thus escaped a capital punishment.[†] Jerome Bolseck, after he was excluded from the territory of Geneva, resided in the Canton of Bern. By his influence, some Ministers in that quarter, who were unprincipled and licentious, were induced to allege against Calvin, *That he made God the author of all evil, because he excluded nothing from his eternal Providence and ordination.* Being disposed, by misrepresentations, to injure the reputation of Calvin, they disregarded the statements which he had formerly made in replying to the same objections. Calvin had abundantly proved, that *the ordination of God, concerning man, was consistent with the laws of moral agency;* and without attempting to explain the mystery, asserted, and from the Scriptures proved the fact, that the divine sovereignty was absolute. Though personally regardless of these often repeated calumnies, he however, from concern for the cause of truth, petitioned the Senate for permission to repair to Bern, accompanied by delegates from that body, in order to defend the true doctrines of religion before the people of that city. The points of doctrine were amply discussed. Bolseck was ordered to depart from the territory of that Canton. Castalio, who was more artful and secret in his enmity against Calvin and those doctrines, was, from learning, talents and morals, far more influential than Bolseck in spreading the errours of Pelagius. He was censured, and also exiled from the territory of Bern.

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* See Bucholtzer's Chronology, Anno 1555.

† Epist. Calvini, Georgio Comiti Wirtebergensi, &c. May 2, 1557.

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[*] Epist. Calvini ad Martyrem, May 22, 1558.

[†] Matthew Gribauld, it is stated by Bayle, wrote and published a history of *Francis Spira.* In the title, Gribauld says he was a familiar acquaintance of Spira, in 1548, and that he wrote what he saw and heard himself. It was printed at Basil, 1550. Sleidan, in his history, declares that Gribauld was a spectator of the sad condition of Spira, and that he wrote and published an account of it; also, that many others, men of distinction, saw Spira in that situation, which the history describes.

Another of these accusers, and not the least violent, was Andrew Zebedeus. He was a Minister of Newburg, four miles from Geneva. Some time after the decease of Calvin, being himself on his death-bed, he assembled the principal citizens, and confessed his belief of the doctrines of the eternal Providence and absolute sovereignty of God. He declared his abhorrence of his treatment of Calvin, and ordered his writings on those subjects to be burnt in his presence.

In 1556, Calvin was seized with a quartan ague during divine service. His constitution was much debilitated, by the discharge of his numerous official duties, and by his unremitting studies. The reformed Church at Frankfort applied to him for his advice, concerning the differences which prevailed among them, upon the subject of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Among the letters, which he wrote this year, is one addressed to the Church at Frankfort, and others to different persons in that city. Having recovered his health in some measure, at their request, he made a visit, in the month of August, to that Church, to assist them in settling the agitated questions. After his return, he resumed his labours in preparing his Commentary on the Psalms.

During the reign of Henry II., the Reformers in France suffered many severe persecutions. They had, however, in their interest many noble and influential persons, at the head of whom was Lewis, first Duke of Conde, and Gaspard de Coligni, Admiral of France. The opposition to them was powerful, and they were obliged, for their security, to celebrate the Supper, and hold their meetings in private houses, and with secrecy. A large number, having assembled, on the 4th of September, in St. James street at Paris,* for the celebration of the Supper, were discovered by the Papists. Many of them made their escape, by the darkness of the night. Eighty were apprehended, imprisoned, and treated with the most abusive indignity. Among those were many noble women of the first rank. Henry was petulant and cruel; and at this time his furious bigotry was especially enraged at the loss of the battle of St. Quintin. Demochares, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, accused them of those crimes, which the Pagans charged against the first Christians. Their enemies reproached them with being the cause of all the calamities of the kingdom; and suborned witnesses to testify, that in their nocturnal meetings they indulged in the most filthy lewdness. The King ordered twenty-one of these unhappy persons to be burnt alive. Seven of these were to be committed to the flames at three successive times. One of the first seven was a woman of a noble family, who exhibited an example of fortitude becoming a believer in the promises of Christ. Two others were youths distinguished for their constancy in the faith, under such trying circumstances. The Minister, who performed the service on the evening when they were apprehended, published the most ample testimony, to prove the falsehood of the calumnies with which their accusers had reproached them.

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* Bucholtzer's Chronology, 1557.

The interest taken by Calvin, in the distresses of his brethren, is manifested by the letter which he wrote to the Landgrave of Hesse, to secure his interference with the King of France, to remove the imputation that the Reformers were in any manner the cause of the slaughter at the battle of St. Quintin, and also for their deliverance from persecution.

"CALVIN to the most illustrious PRINCE, LORD PHILIP, LANDGRAVE OF HESSE, &c.

"Most illustrious Prince and Lord, though conscious of my inferiority yet I am persuaded, that your Highness considers me as a faithful servant of Christ; and that your former benevolence towards me still remains the same. I will not make a long apology for my request, in a case where sloth or omission would on my part be cruelty. I abstained from writing to you, when the two brethren went to you some time since, because I would not be troublesome, nor press your Excellency to perform a duty to which I believed you were already sufficiently inclined. But as they are now going to you the third time, a new reason excites me to unite my entreaties with theirs, that you may not think their importunities with your Excellency are repeated so often without cause. It is probable, that the rumours which are spread have reached your ears, that there was no need of any expostulation with the King, who had, of his own accord, ordered all those to be liberated, who had been thrown into prison on account of the gospel. It is true, that of a great number only seven as yet have been burnt. But they are very much deceived, who think that bounds are now set to this cruelty, as if the enemies were grown mild, or were satisfied with innocent blood. The invincible constancy of the Martyrs has indeed, for a moment, broken or restrained their madness. They lately led two youths to punishment, whose tender age they supposed would render them less courageous and constant, hoping by their apostacy to brand the true faith with infamy and disgrace. Disappointed in these expectations, they were disposed to pursue some different course. They examined those who appeared most prepared to undergo death, paying no regard to their wealth, or distinguished family connections, and concealed them in caverns, from which they will, on the very first opportunity, be dragged to death, to which they believe themselves to be sentenced. And this thing is commonly known. More than thirty both men and women are in this condition. Others are distributed in monasteries, to whom the Monks are so many daily tormentors. If many have escaped from these cells, it has not proceeded from clemency or humanity; but because it was agreeable to the Monks, who wish their cloisters to be freed from such noxious persons, lest the contagion should be propagated among them. This half way punishment, however, very much displeases the Cardinal, who reigns supremely at Court. This is evident from the severe threats and reproaches of the King, because the Judges of the Parisian inquisition have not acted with more energy and effect. He has, at length, by his Ambassadour, petitioned the Romish Antichrist to appoint three Cardinals, to preside over the inquisition, with the unbridled liberty of destruction and slaughter. He has published a new edict by which the Bishops have committed to them the power of life and death. Nothing is left to the royal Judges, but to be the executioners of the sentences of the inquisition. Should we all then remain silent, your Excellency will at once, from your singular prudence, discern what the event will be, unless immediately obviated by effectual measures. Your piety and zeal will no doubt excite you, without delay, to succour those unhappy brethren, whose sighs and groans ought justly to pierce all pious hearts, and stimulate them to provide for their brethren the most prompt and effectual relief. The request which is now urged relates not only to those who are in prison, but to three hundred thousand persons, who are every moment agitated with new terrours. Even now, not only at Paris, but in other cities of France, some of the faithful assemble for prayer, and other exercises of religion. But while the certain danger of death threatens them, the less they spare their own lives, the more worthy are they, on that account, to receive assistance, if by any means it can be afforded them. May the Lord protect your Excellency, and adorn you, most illustrious Prince, with all good gifts, and confirm you with the spirit of fortitude even unto the end.

"GENEVA, Feb. 27, 1558."

Calvin wrote letters also, by the two brethren mentioned above, Theodore Beza and John Budeus, to Otho Henry, Prince Palatine Elector, and Michael Dillerus. He forwarded to Otho the confession of faith, adopted by the French reformed Churches, that he might remove the unfounded aspersions, which the agents of Henry II. had endeavoured to cast upon those who were persecuted, as though they were different in their faith from the German Churches. For it was now the interest of Henry, as it was formerly of Francis I., to excite animosities between the Protestants in Germany and the Emperour. Calvin assures Otho, *that the French inquisition put to death all persons without distinction, who did not confess that Christ was daily sacrificed in the Mass.* Such were the bigotry and cruelty of Henry II., that he was himself present at the burning of those unhappy persons, and it is said, that the horrible spectacle made so deep an impression on his mind, that the idea haunted him during the remainder of his life.* The German Princes at length interposed their influence with Henry, and the persecutions were in some measure abated. Calvin also addressed letters to those who were imprisoned for their faith, and encouraged them to continue in their sufferings.

In 1558, an alliance was entered into between the Republick of Geneva and that of Bern. One object of this was to exclude from the territory of one government, persons who had been banished by the other. This greatly discommoded the plans, and frustrated the expectations, of those persons who had been excluded from Geneva, and had taken up their residence in the Canton of Bern, more conveniently to carry on their attacks upon the doctrines of the Genevese Church, and to secure the circulation of their errours among that people.

The heretical sentiments, which Gribauld had propagated among some of the members of the Italian Church, gave rise, at this time, to new controversies. Valentine Gentilis, a native of Cosenza, a man of a penetrating and subtle mind, easily perceived that neither the extravagant forms of expression, with which Servetus had coloured the heresy of Paul of Samosata, nor the confusion of the Persons with the

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* See Rees' Cyclopædia, Art. Henry II. of France.

Essence of God, introduced by Sabellius, nor yet the fictitious divinity of Christ, taught by Arius, could be reconciled with the word of God. He perceived also, that what thes criptures teach concerning *one Essence*, and *three distinct Persons*, did not fall within the comprehension of the human understanding. He proceeded, as is usual with such speculative minds, to reject the wisdom of God; and to substitute that which he conceived to be more agreeable to human reason. Unwilling to receive the truth upon the divine testimony, and leave the mystery with God, he boldly attributed the *supreme authority*, *monarchia*, to the Person of the Father, whom he would have to be the only and alone *αυτοθεον*, sovereign God. He openly avowed the *Essentiation*, that is, *the propagation of Essence*, and as there were three Persons, so there must be of course three Essences, that is, three Gods, eternal, omnipotent and immense. To support his notions, he not only wrested the scriptures, and perverted their testimony, which establishes the facts on this mysterious subject; but also the authority of the Council of Nice, and of those ancient fathers, Ignatius, Tertullian, Ireneus and Lactantius. He affected to despise the orthodox writers who lived after the Council of Nice, and accused them of impiety, for supporting the doctrine of the triune unity of the Godhead.

Gentilis commenced the propagation of his opinions secretly, under the pretence of discussion and enquiry, among a few persons; of this number were John Paul Alciat, a Milanese, and George Blandrata, a Physician of Salusses. The Consistory of the Italian Church in Geneva, being informed that some members were infected with his heresy, called a special meeting. An examination was held in the presence of some selected Senators, the Ministers and Church Elders. They patiently heard the arguments in favour of the heresy. These were refuted by Calvin from the testimony of the scriptures; and the question was so well settled, that all the Italians, excepting six, readily subscribed the articles of the Genevese confession of faith on the 18th of May, 1558. The six, who at first refused, were afterwards called separately, and subscribed the confession, but not with sincerity. Gentilis, notwithstanding his avowed retraction, still propagated his inventions, and being again arraigned, he defended his opinions before the Consistory. Being confuted and confounded by Calvin, he dissembled very deep repentance, and abjured his errours in all the publick places of the city. Upon his promise under oath, not to leave Geneva, he was dismissed. But regardless of this obligation, he soon after fled to Gribauld, in Savoy, and was followed by Alciat and Blandrata. The two latter, not being esteemed by the others as men of science, retired into Transylvania, and for several years propagated their pernicious opinions in that and the neighbouring countries. Gentilis and Gribauld, by their united labours, forged a work against the Trinity, in which they reproached the sentiments of Athanasius and of Calvin. They procured the publication of this at Lyons, with a dedication to the Bailiff of Gex, who was totally ignorant of their sentiments. While at Lyons, Gentilis was seized by the Popish inquisition, on account of the heretical sentiments contained in his book. He exemplified the looseness of his principles, in his method of avoiding the punishment with which he was threatened by the Papists. He persuaded them that he had only written against Calvin, and on this account they dismissed him as a man who had deserved well of the Catholick Church. Gentilis eventually entrusted himself in the hands of the Bailiff of Gex, and requested the privilege of a publick disputation in defence of his principles. He made the challenge on the condition, that whoever failed of supporting his opinion should forfeit his head, and if the challenge was not accepted, he was to be declared as a person holding orthodox and pious sentiments, concerning the most high God, and his Son Jesus Christ.* The Bailiff of Gex, pleased with the opportunity of having the man in his power, who had imposed upon him by the dedication of his work, caused him to be apprehended and committed to prison. He was at length sent to Bern, to defend himself concerning his errours. Here he was duly tried, and convicted of perjury and publick impiety in renewing his attack upon the Trinity. All means having failed of bringing him to renounce his errours, he was sentenced and beheaded September 9, 1566.

The quartan fever had continued its attacks upon Calvin for eight months, and reduced him to a state of debility from which he did not afterwards recover. At the request of his Physicians and friends, he omitted his publick sermons and lectures in theology, but still devoted day and night, in dictating and writing letters. He would often say, *How unpleasant to me is an idle life!* Notwithstanding the expostulations of his friends to take care of his health, he this year prepared the last edition of his favourite work, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion.* In his preface he says, "I proposed to myself, in this edition, to provide a way in which the students of sacred theology might advance with an uninterrupted step in the study of the scriptures. I think I have so embraced the substance of religion in all its parts, and digested it in such order, that the mind which understands this may, without difficulty, determine what the scriptures principally teach, and what is the grand object of all the counsels and examples which they contain. All doctrines and duties are comprehended in this compendium. The order of these Institutes appears distinctly in all my Commentaries as the image in a glass."

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* See Bayle, Art. Gentilis.

The following are the principal editions of the Institutes during the life of the author :—

First edition, A. D. 1535, at Basil.*

Second edition, 1539, at Strasburg, enlarged, the edition which Pighius attacked.

Third edition, 1543, at Strasburg, corrected and enlarged.

Fourth edition, 1544, at Strasburg, revised.

Fifth edition, 1545, at Geneva, enlarged.

Sixth edition, 1550, at Geneva, revised, and his Catechism subjoined.

Seventh edition, 1559, at Geneva, perfected both in Latin and French, and divided into four books.

So numerous were the editions of this distinguished work, that it is not possible to speak with exactness concerning their order. It was very soon, after its first publication, translated into French, and passed through many editions before the author completed it in that language in 1559. No addition was made after this time by the author. Marloret added two indices.

Calvin revised at this time his distinguished Commentary on Isaiah. Galasius performed the part of an Amanuensis, as Calvin's feeble state of body would not admit of his performing the labour of writing it himself. This work, which was first dedicated to Edward VI. he now dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. He dated it Jan. 15, 1559, the day he says on which report stated that she was crowned.

Peter Martyr was now Minister and Professor at Zurich. On hearing of Calvin's illness, he wrote him the subsequent letter :—

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* See Bayle, Art. Schultingius.

"Martyr to Calvin, gives salutation.

"My illustrious Friend, I was neither surprised nor offended that when you wrote, a few days since, to Bullinger, you did not also write to me, for which you wished him to apologize. I was before that very much afflicted to hear, that you were sick, and dangerously so. My anxiety is not now diminished, since you inform us that you are labouring under the quartan ague. I could say much of the stubbornness of this disease, and its peculiar obstinacy against medicines and Physicians, having twice struggled with it myself. The sum of the matter is, that those who are in this situation have need of great and persevering patience, which you would not otherwise have occasion to use, nor to pray for, as your mind is abundantly stored with that grace by the Spirit of Christ. But I have, in common with many others, two reasons to lament this sickness: one is, that you yourself are distressed, your health being broken, and your constitution debilitated; which can not be otherwise, especially as your body is already almost exhausted with labours. The other is, that your official labours and writings will be interrupted, to the great detriment of all the friends of Christ. There is nothing so injurious to a person labouring under this disease as study and anxiety. These things extremely afflict not only me, but truly all the pious. However, since it is so, it is our duty, with all possible earnestness, in our prayers, to supplicate that you may speedily be restored to your former health. It is also your duty, to abstain, with the strictest care and attention, from those things which are pernicious to yourself, especially from close study and anxiety about any weighty concerns; for by these the humour of the black bile, from which the fever is inflamed, is so excited and agitated, that it fastens on the very marrow of the bones. It is vastly more desirable, that you should rest a few days or months, since so it seemeth good unto God, than either that you should die, to the greatest grief of the good, which may God avert, or that you should live, while life only remains in a feeble body and with a mind quite debilitated, to the unspeakable loss of the Church. See therefore that you neither sin against yourself, nor against the Church of Christ.

"Messengers arrived here yesterday from the English Nobles who reside at Frankfort. They bring information, *that their Queen died on the 16th of Nov.;* and that the illustrious Elizabeth had succeeded to the Crown, with the fullest approbation of the Lords and Commons, who had at this time providentially assembled from all parts of England, in Council, or as they commonly term it, in Parliament. We must now entreat God, that this change of affairs may be turned to the honour of the name of Christ and his holy Gospel. In this duty, I am confident, that you and your Church will not be wanting. The time is perhaps arrived, when in that kingdom the walls of Jerusalem shall be rebuilt, and God shall witness that the blood of so many Martyrs has not been shed in vain. I have no other news, except that my book is now in the press, in which I have detected and refuted, concerning the Eucharist, all the sophistry and artful fallacies of Stephen Gardner formerly Bishop of Winchester. This work, I trust, will come abroad most seasonably; for it is of special importance at this time, that the Papists should understand, that Gardner's book is not so invincible as they have hitherto boasted. Farewell, and may you long, very long, live to Christ and to his Church. Salute, in my name, your fellow Ministers, and also Beza and the Marquis.

"Yours wholly,

"PETER MARTYR.

"Zurich, December 1."

On the 3d of April, 1559, the peace of Chateau-Cambresis was concluded between Ferdinand, King of Spain, and Henry II., of France. One of the articles stipulated, that the two Kings should act in concert, to procure a general Council, for the purpose of reforming the Church, and establishing the order of religion. Taking advantage of the weakness of Henry, the Papists concerted a plan to destroy the city of Geneva. This they expected would break up the fountain head of the Reformation in France. The King was influenced to enact the most severe laws against the adherents to the pure doctrines. Some of the Senators urged forbearance and mildness in religious matters, till the general Council should be convened. These were imprisoned by the King's order. The first step towards their purpose, for destroying Geneva, was to restore to the Duke the ancient territory of Savoy. During this period, Calvin, though very feeble in body, continued his labours, and confirmed the afflicted Churches and Brethren in the Faith.* But amidst the distresses and anxieties of the Reformers, that God, who holds the breath of Kings in his hand, answered the prayers of his people, and dissipated their fears. It was stipulated in the treaty of Chateau, that Philip should marry the daughter of Henry. At the celebration of the nuptials, the King of France received a mortal wound in a tournament, from the splinter of a lance which pierced one of his eyes. This wound was given by the hand of the Prefect of the royal guards, who had, by the King's order, seized and imprisoned those Senators who pleaded for moderation in religious matters. Thus, in a moment, the face of things was changed; and the Papists were defeated in their purposes against Geneva. Annes du Bourge, a distinguished Counsellor, was one of those who were imprisoned for urging to moderate measures in the religious affairs of the kingdom. Against him the King was, at that time, so highly enraged, that he declared, *that both his eyes should see that man burnt at the stake.* Henry made this declaration June 10, and received the wound in his eye, and died suddenly July 10, 1539. Cardinal Lorrain, who had a dominant influence over Henry in the concerns of the Church, having been defeated in forming a new Inquisition of three Cardinals, by the Senators of Paris, was violently enraged against du Bourge. By his influence, this excellent man was burnt at Paris, December 18, 1559.*

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* Epist. Calvini, Anno 1559.

Calvin, in the conclusion of his letter to Ambrose Blaurer, details the facts relative to the apprehension and execution of Annes du Bourge.

"CALVIN TO BLAURER.

——————"I reluctantly mention the state of France, because it is turbulent, mournful and calamitous. You have been informed, I suppose, that the King, hearing that a good part of the Senate of Paris were inclined to treat our brethren with more mildness, at the solicitation of the Cardinal, repaired to the Senate-room, and demanded their opinions. When some had determined, that the cruelties were too atrocious, although they shewed themselves unfavourable to the cause, one freely and resolutely took upon himself the patronage of the cause, and did not hesitate to expose himself to the severe displeasure of the King. It appeared to Henry insufferable, that the Counsellors should not be awed by his presence. Giving himself up to extreme impetuosity, he ordered this Senator to prison. Six hours after, six other Senators were confined; although these had, by their moderation and even dissembling, betrayed the doctrine of salvation. Some were deprived of their rank; others were fined; and one held in prison. This one, against whom the King was enraged, was lately burnt. Even the enemies say, that he was in all respects an excellent man. He possessed an amiable disposition and a strong judgment, and was uncommonly versed in the science of jurisprudence. He was a man of singular probity. His humanity recommended his other virtues. *He was the grandson of Chancellor du Bourge.* His brothers had raised him, against his will, to that office, when he was more desirous of a private life. The respectability and dignity of the man held the judges a long time in suspense. They were at length forced, by the authority of the Cardinal, to give him up to punishment. When the cruel sentence was pronounced, *That he should be burnt alive, he prostrated himself on the earth, and gave thanks to God, who had distinguished him with so great honour, that he should suffer for the defence of the eternal truth.* He awaited death for four hours with a cheerful countenance. When he came to the place of execution, though surrounded by four hundred guards, he was observed to pull off his cloak and his coat, as if he were willingly retiring to sleep. But as the executioner cast a cord about his neck, he told him there was no need of that, as he was to be burnt, according to custom, with a slow fire. The executioner answered, that he was ordered otherwise; that by strangling him he might diminish the torture. He had now made his last prayer; however, again falling upon his knees, he gave thanks to God. Half a month has elapsed since his death. Many others, since that time, have been burnt. Every moment new terrours are heaped upon us. I wish, from these examples, we may well learn what is the life of man upon the earth; that I may especially, whose dulness cannot be too much aroused. Farewell.

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* See Dupin, vol. 6, book 8, chap. 13, p. 164, and chap. 11, p. 153; and Bayle Art. Henry II.

"January, 1560."

During the period and the very moment, when those powerful Princes were conspiring for the destruction of Geneva, the inhabitants of that city, under the influence of Calvin, were raising splendid buildings for a publick seminary. The College was instituted in September, with eight Preceptors for youths, and several Professors of Hebrew and Greek, Philosophy and Divinity. It was dedicated to the most High and Holy God, in the full assembly of the people, at which time the object of its institution, and the laws by which it was to be governed, were publickly read. Calvin retained the Professorship of Divinity, and Theodore Beza was inducted into the office of President.

Francis II. who succeeded his father, was under the influence of the Duke of Guise and his brother, Cardinal Lorrain. He was young, weak in constitution, and feeble in mind. By the intrigues of ambitious men, his reign was distinguished for violence and disorder. The foundation was now laid for those civil and religious contentions which so long afflicted the Reformed Churches of France. The burning of Annes du Bourge was followed by a more extensive persecution of the Calvinists. The King appointed Presidial Courts, which had power to try only cases of this sort. "They condemned to the flames, without mercy, all those who were convicted of the new religion." The Reformers were now become very numerous in France, and many distinguished men and noble families favoured the pure doctrines and worship. The Prince of Conde was the head,* and Coligni the strong arm of their party. They sought, by every means of address and most humble petition, to obtain liberty of conscience, and security in their religious assemblies. Their efforts were of no avail; the restrictions upon them were increased; their cup was rendered more bitter; and at length they injudiciously concerted a plan to defend themselves by force. The contests between the Papists and Reformers at Amboise were violent. Calvin was accused of having excited the leaders of these tumults openly to oppose the orders of the King. In his letter to Bullinger, dated May 11, 1560, he says that he interposed his authority, to prevent the attempts to redress themselves by force. In his letter to Ambrose Blaurer, of the 27th of May, he fully exposes the wickedness and impolicy of such attempts to obtain redress. He had, from the first of his knowledge of their plans, opposed them, and predicted the evils that would follow. Some however at Geneva it seems encouraged the conspiracy at Amboise, who were resolved upon appearing armed before the King, and demanding liberty of conscience, and the removal of the Guises from the government. At this time also, Geneva was openly threatened with invasion. Calvin, writing on the subject, observes, "I cannot be persuaded of this danger; yet if greater dangers should press us we will quietly wait the event, relying on the protection of God. Whatever shall happen, our heavenly father will turn it to our salvation; and in shewing mercy to us, will have respect to the good of the whole church." At the close of this letter he informs Blaurer, that he dictated it from his bed, "where, according to my custom, I lie down one half of my time, that I may be able to improve with more strength the remaining hours."

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* See Dupin, cent. 16, book 4, p. 398, 399, and book 3, p. 164.

In consequence of the commotions which were excited in Provence, Languedoc and other places, the King called a Council to be holden at Fontainbleau, about thirty-five miles from Paris, on the 20th of August 1560. The following letter details the transactions of this Council.

"CALVIN TO BULLINGER, wishes health.

"All the Nobles were lately assembled at Fontainbleau, a place less than two days journey from Paris. A certain

Cardinal was present, who is either a wine cask or a flaggon, for he certainly bears not the figure of a man. The Guises thought, that the splendour of this convention would be greatly increased if they assembled, from all parts, as many as possible of the purple habited Knights, who boast themselves of the order of St. Michael. Thirty made their appearance when before there were only twelve. The Chancellor said much in extolling the illustrious Senate, in whom resided all the authority of the kingdom. This introduction was a piece of gross flattery. He afterwards discoursed upon the state of the kingdom; and observed that since there was need of remedies to cure the diseases, the cause of the evils must be investigated. Here he ended his speech as if, destitute of counsel, he would implore the aid of Physicians. The King designedly asked the opinion of the Bishop of Valence, who was among the lowest Counsellors. The Guises were anxious to awaken the private feelings of all, and that every one should be suddenly attacked, as should appear best for their purpose. The Admiral arose, contrary to their expectation, and handed the king a petition in which those who desired the pure worship of God in Normandy requested, that they should be permitted to meet in the day time, that they might avoid the various calumnies, to which they were exposed from the circumstance of their being obliged to hold secret and nightly meetings. He was asked from whom he obtained the petition. He answered, that he had been anxious for the publick good, and to know more fully what the Reformers desired: That there were fifty thousand men whose subscription might be obtained if it should please the King. Coligni and the Archbishop of Vienne were the only two who spoke on this subject with energy. These things being heard by the Council, the greater part of whom were silent voters, the Duke of Guise fully vented himself in a manner that would have been intolerable any where else. Take an instance of his stupidity.

When the Admiral said, that he was not pleased with the barbarian custom, that the King should be surrounded by an army instead of being protected by his body guards; that this education was not worthy of France, as the young King ought not to be brought up in the habit of guarding himself against his subjects, as though he was in fear of those, whose favour he ought to secure and cherish by his good will; the Duke answered, that the king did not need nurses and foster-fathers, inasmuch as he is educated in the plenitude of his own virtue, (I repeat his very words,) that if he is to be instructed, his mother is sufficient for this office. He boldly said also, that whatever a thousand Councils might decree, he was determined to follow the institutions of his ancestors. His brother, the Cardinal Lorrain, was more grave and prudent. He said it was in vain to ask from Councils for any change in doctrines; that it was unlawful to call into controversy what had before come from the Holy Spirit; and that if there were corruptions in morals, the Bishops ought to be permitted to correct them fully. He was fretted by what the Archbishop of Vienne said, that it was a reproach, and a shameful sign of confusion, that Bishops should leave their Churches, to follow the Courts of Princes; and by his entreating the King with much earnestness, that the Churches should not be deprived of their Pastors, under the vain pretext of the publick good. Hence this rule was adopted, that no one should be bound by law or necessity, to attend the Court, but each one should act as he pleased.—You ask, what was the result? The Archbishop of Vienne retired home. After four or five days were consumed in vain consultations, it was determined, that there should be a meeting of the States in the month of December. The Bishops are summoned to meet on the 20th of January, not to decree any thing, but to consider what is to be proposed to the Council. They had hitherto obstinately opposed a meeting of the States; and they have now cunningly contrived to elude the hopes of those who expected some alleviation of their evils from this assembly. This exception is added, That each Province shall examine, before its own Prefects, what business it is expedient to treat of in the Council. This affords no liberty at all; as they must choose their deputies under the direction of those Governours. Those flatterers therefore will attend, who are purchased and nominated by the Prefect. How frivolous and trifling this ostensible Council is, you may easily learn from the formula of the edict which convenes it, which some one of your friends will interpret to you. In the mean time the truth of the Gospel is breaking forth. In Normandy, our brethren now preach publickly, for private houses will not contain three or four thousand men. In Poictiers, Saintonge, and in all Aquitaine, they enjoy greater liberty. Languedoc, Provence and Dauphiné have many intrepid disciples of Christ. Why the Cardinal ceases, he has clearly professed, That he may in a short time detect the impudence of the Fanaticks. But the Lord, I hope, will not only bring to light his wicked purposes, but also dissipate his impious endeavours.——Farewell, most respected man and highly esteemed brother.—May the Lord always preserve all yours in health, &c.

"GENEVA, October 1, 1560."

The opinion of Osiander, that man was justified by the essential righteousness of God, was at this time controverted by Francis Stancarus, Professor at Koningsburg. Of a warm and zealous mind, he pursued the other extreme, and maintained, that Jesus Christ is Mediator only according to his human nature. His opinion was condemned as heretical by several Synods, and confuted by Melancthon, and by Peter Martyr. The Churches of Poland however, being much disturbed by these disputes, made application to the Consistory of Geneva for their opinion. Calvin addressed a letter to the Poles, and in a short admonition exposed the fallacy and pernicious nature of this errour. He also guarded them against the heresy of the Tritheists, as defended by Blandrata and his adherents. He laboured to confirm them in the belief, that Christ was Mediator in both natures, without multiplying his divinity.*

The United Brethren, commonly called Waldenses, who had retired into Bohemia, to enjoy liberty of worship, and purity of doctrines, addressed a letter to Calvin by two of their number. In consequence of the disputes in the Polanese Churches, they hesitated about extending to them the right hand of fellowship. They also had some difficulty among themselves, as to the Lord's Supper, as their confession asserted, that the bread and wine were the true body of Christ. Calvin replied to them, that it was their duty to assist the Polanese; and so much the more, as they, in common with other Churches, were labouring under difficulties among themselves; and were at the same time surrounded by the enemies of the pure doctrines. Speaking of the Augsburg Confession, he says, "We know, how plausible the conduct of those is, who, under the cover of the Augsburg Confession,† taking their peace and quietness, escape troubles and hatreds and even the cross itself. But what the author himself, Philip Melancthon, thought on this point, is no secret with you; and perhaps the improbity of those persons, who endeavour to draw obscurity over the clearest light, may compel us to make it known to the world. Nor yet, although we reverently cherish the memory of Melancthon, do we rest upon his authority for confuting our adversaries; but we would only show how unjustly they cover themselves with the Augsburg Confession, whose opinions are totally foreign from the mind of its author."—In his letter to the Polish Princes, in 1557, which was the ground of this application from the United Brethren, Calvin says, "A part, as we hear, embrace the Augsburg Confession; others tenaciously retain the doctrine of the Waldenses; and others desire a pure and more simple explanation of the mystery. As to the Augsburg Confession, there is no just reason, why the servants of Christ should contend among themselves, only let the genuine sense be agreed upon." In his letter to Schalinger, Pastor of Frankfort, Calvin says, "I do not reject the Augsburg Confession, which I long since subscribed, *volens ac libens*, *willingly and freely*, as the author himself explained it." The same disposition to cherish union and peace, which induced Calvin to subscribe the Augsburg Confession himself, influenced him to say to the Polish Princes, "That in unity of faith and agreement among brethren, consisted the prosperity of the Church." On the same principle, he urges the Waldenses to cherish a mutual agreement with other Churches, as they all had one Father in heaven, and were all united in one body under Christ, the head; and that the best bond, to cherish and preserve concord among brethren was not to admit, with too easy credulity, unfavourable reports about each other.*

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* See Calvini Opuscula p. 587. Amst. Ed.

† This was the first publick confession of faith by the Protestants of Germany. It was drawn up by Melancthon, and presented to the Emperour, Charles V. in the Diet of Augsburg, June 25, 1530. The confession contains 28 chapters, 21 of which are employed in stating the opinions of the Protestants, on the great points of doctrine. The 7 last are an exhibition of the errours and abuses of the Romish Church. Mosh. vol. 3. p. 354.

In consequence of the persecutions in France, during the reigns of Henry and Francis, many of the French Reformers took refuge in England, under the protection of Queen Elizabeth. From motives of policy, the English Court gave assistance to the Prince of Conde, and his party, in their contests with the Guises, to secure the toleration of their principles and worship. By dividing the French at home, they prevented them from affording that aid to Mary, Queen of Scotland, which might have enabled her to maintain and establish her claims to the dominion of that country.[*] Men and money were furnished by Elizabeth to the Reformers in France, and those who emigrated to England were kindly received, and tolerated in that form of worship, which she was at this time assisting their brethren at home to establish. Under such circumstances, the Presbyterian form of worship was introduced and tolerated in England. By the direction of Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, the emigrants wrote to Calvin to send them a Minister, who should establish a Church upon the same principles of doctrine and order of worship with the Genevese. Nicholas Gallasius came to London for that purpose. Grindal and other distinguished characters at Court procured for them the Church of St. Anthony near merchant taylor's hall.[†] By Gallasius, Calvin wrote to Grindal.

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* In Epist. Calvini p. 113, 115, et p. 145. Amst. Edit.

"CALVIN TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

"Most excellent and revered Sir, although you do not expect that I should give you thanks, for the pious services you have rendered the Church of Christ, yet I should accuse myself of unreasonable ingratitude, if I should not acknowledge myself under obligation to you, for so respectfully taking upon yourself the care of our people, who reside in the chief city of your diocese; not only that, through the favour of the Queen, liberty is given them of the pure worship of God, but also that they might call from this city a faithful Pastor. But since you have cheerfully, of your own accord, asked and exhorted me to be careful to chuse a proper Pastor for them, I need not recommend to your protection and patronage those for whose welfare I see you are so anxious. As you have testified already your rare and singular love of piety, in assisting them so liberally, so it will be the part of your constancy to continue your favour towards them to the end. Respecting ourselves, as the situation appeared to demand a man of the most excellent gifts, and your guests expressly wished us to send them some one of our connection, we preferred rather to deprive ourselves, than not to accommodate them according to their pious request. We have yielded to them accordingly, our brother Nicholas Gallasius, one of the three whom they at first named. It is with regret, that he suffers himself to be torn from us, by whom he knows himself to be greatly beloved. He leaves this place with reluctance, where his labours have been no less fruitful than faithful; yet, overcome by your exhortations, he has accepted of this office, hoping that he might be of more extensive service in enlarging the kingdom of Christ. Necessity alone obliges us to dismiss him; as we feared that without his presence, sufficient provision would not be made for that tender and yet unsettled Church. His departure is no small loss to this place, where he is held in high estimation, and where he has always conducted as becomes a servant of Christ. To me he is a dear and familiar friend; and I could not consent to his departure without severe sorrow. But any thing is to be suffered to accommodate our destitute and persecuted brethren, with the assistance they so anxiously request. On this account, I am the more solicitous that he may find his situation with you so agreeable as to lighten his burdens, and solace him under the trials arising from this change of residence. When, by your kindness, he shall be more intimately known to you, I trust, Reverend Sir, that you will find him sufficiently amiable without the recommendations of others.

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[*] See Burnet's hist. Reform. Anno. 1559.

[†] See Heylin, Hist. Presbyt. p. 217.

And now, if I have any interest in your favour, I entreat you again and again, to continue your kindness and benevolence to one to whom you see me so strongly attached. I am sincerely grieved, that the Churches throughout the kingdom are not yet so quietly settled as all good men wished, and had at first expected. To overcome obstacles, indefatigable exertions are required. It is now expedient, and therefore the Queen ought to know it, that you should willingly dismiss, nay even reject whatever savours of earthly domination; that it may be evident that your authority is lawful, and that it is given you of God to exercise your spiritual functions. This will be her true excellency and majesty. Then she will hold, under Christ the head, the highest degree of dignity, if she stretch forth her supporting hand to the lawful Pastors, to enable you to fulfil the duties which are enjoined upon you. But as your prudence neither requires advice, nor your magnanimity excitements, I will only have recourse to prayers, and entreat the Lord, most excellent and revered Sir, to govern you with his Spirit, sustain you with his strength, defend you with his shield, and bless your holy labours. My colleagues respectfully salute you.

"GENEVA, May 15, 1560."

The violent measures of Francis had driven the Reformers in his kingdom almost to despair of their cause. But while the prospect was still darkening, and severer persecutions were expected to follow the meeting of the *three Estates* at Melun in December, Francis died suddenly on the 5th of that month. This event relieved them from their immediate apprehensions; and they subsequently found seasons of enlargement and comparative repose.

Francis II. was succeeded by his brother Charles IX. at the age of ten years. Scarcely had this child mounted the throne when letters, written in his name, were brought to Geneva by a herald, in which he complained, that persons from that city were exciting disturbances in his kingdom. He demanded that they should be immediately recalled, or he should not pass over such a just cause of revenge. Calvin, being summoned by the Senate, answered in his own name, and in that of his colleagues, that at the request of the French Churches, they had sent men of sound faith and holy life, well qualified to assist them in regulating their Churches, and defending the sacred cause; that they had done this, not to disturb the kingdom, but to promote the Gospel of peace; and that if any other accusations were made against them, he and his colleagues were ready to answer their accusers before the King. This business was proceeded in no farther, as the management of affairs in France fell into the hands of the King's mother, Catherine de Medicis, who held the regency.

In September, Calvin dedicated his Prælectiones on Daniel *to all the pious worshippers of God, who were labouring to build the Church of Christ in France.* He affectionately addressed his countrymen, reminding them that although he had been twenty-six years in a foreign city, he had not been unmindful of their welfare; that he had assisted their Churches by his publick labours, and by his private exertions had endeavoured to awaken the drowsy, to stimulate the slothful, to encourage the fearful, and to strengthen the wavering to perseverance; that at this critical moment, he dedicated to them his Lectures on the Prophecy of Daniel, to give them new strength from the ancient examples of faith and constancy, that they might not be disheartened amidst the storms and tempests which so violently assailed them. And although at no period, had the prospects of the reformed Churches in France been so promising, yet Calvin, as with a prophetick voice, declares to them, that contests and trials, far more severe than they apprehended, awaited them.

The conference at Poissy between the Romish Prelates and the reformed Ministers was now in session. In this assembly Beza presented to Charles IX. the confession of faith, adopted by the French Churches. "This was the confession," says Mr. Quick in his Synodicon, "which was drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Calvin, and was owned in their first national Synod held at Paris, in the year 1559, and presented unto Francis II. first at *Amboise*, in behalf of all the professors of the reformed religion in that kingdom; afterwards to Charles IX. at the conference of *Poissy*. It was a second time presented to Charles; and at length published by the Pastors of the French Churches, with a preface to all other evangelical Pastors, in the year 1566. It was also most solemnly ratified in the national Synod, held the first time at Rochell, 1571, the year before the *massacre of Bartholomew*; and signed by *Jane, Queen of Navarre*, *Henry, Prince of Bearn*, *Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Conde*, Lewis, Count of Nassau, and Sir Gaspard de Coligni, Lord High Admiral of France."*

Among the many distinguished persons of the Reformers, who were present at the conference of Poissy, were Theodore Beza from Geneva, Peter Martyr from Zurich, and Nicholas Gallasius from the reformed Church in London. The letters which Beza wrote to Calvin, during his continuance in France, afford a very interesting account of the transactions of the conference, and the disordered state of religious matters in that kingdom.†

During its sessions at Poissy, Francis Baldwin, a Lawyer, who had several times changed sides in his avowed religious opinions, being suborned by Cardinal Lorrain, offered for sale in the palace a book in which, under the mask of moderation, the corruptions of Popery were artfully defended. Calvin, being informed by Beza of this circumstance, immediately wrote an answer, in which he exposed both the deception of the work, and the character of Baldwin.*

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* Quick's Synodicon vol. 1, p. 15.

† In Epist. Calvini.

In the month of January, 1562, was published the first edict which had given any tolerance to the reformed Churches. Notwithstanding all the persecutions they had suffered, the number of them had increased to *two thousand one hundred and fifty*.† After the adoption of the confession of faith drawn up by Calvin, they were by degrees designated by the term *Calvinistick;* and their doctrines, by their enemies, were termed *Calvinism.*

The Duke of Guise, the leader of the Popish party, being at Vassi in Champaign, his attendants "picked a quarrel" with the reformed who were assembled in their meeting-house, "singing psalms, and fell upon and killed near sixty, and wounded near two hundred." The civil animosities and the wars which followed upon this outrage, committed against the edict of the King, continued till march 1563.

These contentions were extremely distressing to Calvin, who was now considered as the father of the French Churches. His bodily infirmities were increased by his constant labours in writing, dictating, and discharging still not only his own official duties, but also those of the President of the College, in the absence of Beza. The doctrine of the French Churches being openly attacked, and also secretly defamed to the German Princes, by the Papists of France, Calvin, in the name of the Prince of Conde, drew up a concise account of their confession of faith, which was presented to the states of the Empire, at Frankfort, as a vindication from those calumnies.

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* Calvini Opuscula, p. 304, Amst. edit. *Responsio ad Versipellem, &c.* The propriety of this appellation will appear from the fact stated by Antonius Guerinius in his letter to Baldwin, *You have changed your religion seven times within these twenty years,* Septies his viginti annis religionem mutasti. Bayle Art. Baudouin. Notes.

† Dupin 16 cent. B. 3, p. 190, B. 4, p. 400.

Premonitory impressions are to be received with caution. The busy and fantastick power of imagination, especially in a disordered body, may lead to visionary apprehensions which are by no means to be regarded as the premonitions of Providence. But to reject all statements of this kind, is contradicting the experience of some, and the belief of others, sanctioned by the testimony of corresponding events. On *the 19th of December*, which was the Sabbath, the wind having been unusually high for two days, and Calvin confined to his bed, to a number of his friends who were with him, he says, *I know not what it is, but I have thought that I heard a warlike sound of drums through the night. I was not able to persuade myself that it was a delusion. I beseech you, let us pray, for something of great moment has taken place.* In a few days, the news of the battle of Dreux, which was fought between the Prince of Conde and the Duke of Guise, on *the 19th of December*, reached Geneva; the issue of which was unfavourable to the cause of the Reformers, as the Prince was taken prisoner.

The bodily infirmities of Calvin grew more complicated and severe, but his watchful and vigorous mind rose in its exertions. The nearer he approached the termination of his course, the more unremitted were his studies. These labours he pursued when his reputation was established beyond the possibility of enlargement, and when every personal consideration called him to repose. His publick duties were only relinquished by absolute weakness. When confined to his bed, oppressed with the head ache, weakness of the bowels, and the pains of the gout, he would dictate letters, treatises and commentaries, till his amanuensis was wearied. His answers to the Polanese, against the enemies of the divinity of Jesus Christ, and to the deputies of the Synod of Lyons;

his Commentary and Harmony on the four books of Moses, written first in Latin, and translated by himself into French, and his Commentary on Joshua, which he commenced this year and finished on his death bed, are an ample testimony that the object of his labours was the glory of Christ and the prosperity of his Church.

On the 6th of February, 1564, he preached his last sermon, and closed his theological lectures. He was then so severely oppressed with the asthma, as almost to deprive him of the use of his voice. After this time, he was occasionally carried to the meeting of the congregation, and for the last time on the 31st of March. In a letter to the Physicians of Montpelier, dated the 8th of February, he describes the complicated diseases, which his unremitting labours and studies had produced and cherished, with accumulating strength, from the earlier part of life. Considering that their generous assistance could no longer be of any service, he commends them to the blessing and protection of God. For ten years he had usually abstained from all animal food at dinner, and rarely eat any thing after breakfast till his stated hour for supper. For the head ache, with which he was frequently afflicted, he used fasting as a common remedy, and sometimes passed thirty-six hours without any food. His bodily constitution was of a dry temperament, and inclined to the consumption. His sleep was short and unsound. Five years before his death, he was occasionally afflicted with spitting of blood. When the quartan ague abated its severity, he was seized with the gout in his right foot. He was at times visited with the pains of the cholick, and a few months before his death with the stone. The Physicians exhausted their skill in prescribing remedies, and he was no less faithful in following their directions, as far as it respected punctuality in taking their medicines. But neither by arguments nor bodily distress, would he be induced to suspend his laborious studies. Under the pressure of these complicated disorders, he was never heard to utter a syllable unbecoming the fortitude and patience of a Christian. In his severest pains he would raise his eyes to heaven, and say, *How long, O Lord?* In his days of health also he often used these words, when he heard of any calamities befalling his brethren, whose affliction deeply affected the sensibility of his heart. When his friends expostulated, and affectionately urged him to cease in his sickness, from dictating and writing, he would say, *What! would you that when the Lord comes, he should surprise me in idleness?*

On the 10th of March, when Beza and other friends visited him in their usual manner, they found him dressed and sitting at the table on which he had been accustomed to write. Observing them, he reclined his head upon his hand, apparently in silent meditation, and after a few moments, addressed them in a slow and interrupted voice, but with a cheerful countenance; *I return you thanks, my dearest brethren, for your solicitude for me, and I hope that in a fortnight, I shall assist at your assembly for the last time;* after that I think the Lord will manifest his will with respect to me, and will take me to himself.*

On the 24th of March, he attended the meeting of the Consistory for the discipline of morals, and the service being past in peace, he said, "I perceive that the Lord has given me some enlargement." Then taking the New Testament in French, he read some of the marginal annotations, which he had corrected, and asked the opinion of his colleagues concerning their propriety. The exertions of this day were too fatiguing, and on the morrow he was more unwell. On the 27th, he was carried to the door of the Council House, and walked, supported by two friends, into the chamber. Being uncovered, he presented Beza, the Rector of the College, to the favour and patronage of the Senate. He thanked them for all their kindnesses and respect; and especially for the proofs of affection which they had shewn him during his present illness; *I feel,* said he, *that I have come here for the last time.* Having uttered these words with difficulty, his voice failed him, and he took leave of the Senators, who were all in tears.

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* The assembly, or meeting of the Consistory, before the administration of the Supper was called, the *Censura Morum*, or discipline of morals, at which time they enquired after any delinquencies of the members, that they might be dealt with as the case required, before coming to the table on the next Lord's Day.

On the 2d of April, the stated Sabbath for their communion, being very feeble, he was carried to the house of worship in an easy chair. He heard the sermon, received the Lord's Supper from the hands of Beza, and joined the congregation in a hymn, with a trembling voice, while his pale countenance manifested tokens of peace and joy.

He made his will on the 25th of April, in which he expresses with great meekness, his views of the way of salvation for sinners, and his experience of the riches of divine grace, through Jesus Christ.

"THE WILL OF JOHN CALVIN.

"In the name of God, Amen. On the 25th of April, 1564, I, Peter Chenalat, citizen and Notary of Geneva, witness and declare, that I was called, by the worthy John Calvin, Minister of the word of God, in this Church of Geneva, and citizen of the same city; who, being indisposed in body, but of a sound mind, declared his determination to make his last will and testament, and requested me to write what he should dictate and declare by word of mouth—which I have done, as he pronounced and declared, word for word, without omission or addition, in the following form:

"In the name of God, Amen. I, John Calvin, Minister of the word of God, in the Church of Geneva, oppressed and afflicted with various disorders, believing that God will shortly remove me out of this world, have determined to make my testament, and to commit to writing my last will in the following form:

"First, I give thanks to God, that, having mercy upon me, whom he created and placed in this world, he has not only delivered me out of the thick darkness of idolatry, in which I was buried, but has brought me into the light of his Gospel, and made me a partaker of the doctrine of salvation, of which I was most unworthy: that, with the same mercy and kindness, he has graciously borne with my multiplied transgressions and sins, for which I deserved to be rejected and cut off by him; that he has, however, exercised such great clemency and compassion towards me, that he has used my labours in preaching and promulgating the truth of his Gospel. And I testify and declare my intention to pass the remainder of my life in the same faith and religion, which he has delivered to me in his Gospel: that I have no other defence or refuge of salvation, than his gratuitous adoption, on which alone rests my confidence: and with my whole heart I embrace the mercy which he exercises towards me, for the sake of Jesus Christ, accepting the merits of his death and sufferings, that in this way he may be satisfied for all my transgressions and sins, that their remembrance may be blotted out. I also testify and declare, that as I am a supplicant I ask of him, that he would wash and purify me in the blood of the exalted Redeemer, EFFUSO PRO HUMANI GENERIS PECCATIS, *shed for the sins of the human race*, that I may be permitted to stand before his tribunal in the image of the Redeemer himself. I declare also, that I have sedulously exerted my labours, according to the measure of grace and favour which God has bestowed upon me; that both in my sermons, writings and commentaries, I have faithfully and purely declared his word, and with integrity interpreted the holy scriptures. I also testify and declare, that in all the controversies and disputes which I have conducted with the enemies of the Gospel, I have used neither craftiness, nor the pernicious arts of sophistry, but have candidly and sincerely been engaged in the defence of the truth.

"But, alas, my study and my zeal (if worthy of that name) have been so languid and remiss, that I confess innumerable things have been wanting in me to the full discharge of the duties of my office; and unless the unmeasurable bounty of God had been present, all my study would have been vain and transient. And I also acknowledge, that unless he had been present to assist me by his grace, I should have become, in his sight, more and more guilty of negligence and sloth, for which cause I witness and declare, that I hope for no other refuge of salvation than this, that since God is the father of mercy, he may shew himself a father to me, who acknowledge myself a miserable sinner.

"Further, I will, after my departure from this life, that my body be committed to the earth, in that manner, and with those funeral rites, which are ordinarily used by this Church, and in this city, until the day of the glorious resurrection shall come.

"With respect to the small worldly estate, which God has bestowed upon me, and which I have determined to dispose of in this testament, I will, that Anthony Calvin, my dear brother, be my heir; and out of respect to him, let him have and hold for himself, the silver goblet which was given to me by Mr. de Varannes, with which I desire him to be contented, as I commit to his trust the remainder of my estate, requesting of him that at his decease this goblet may be given to his children. I bequeath ten gold crowns, to be given by my brother and legal heir, to the children's school;

and as many to the support of poor strangers. Also, I will to Joanna, daughter of Charles Costans and *of my half sister on the paternal side*, and to Samuel and John, the sons of my said brother, each forty crowns, out of my estate, after his death: To his daughters Anna, Susanna and Dorothy, each thirty crowns: To David, their brother, on account of his known youthful levity and petulance, only twenty-five crowns.

"This is the amount of all the property which God hath given me, as far as I am able to ascertain it, from an estimation of my books, furniture and estate of every kind. Should there, however, prove to be more, I will, that it be equally distributed among my brother's children, not excluding David, if by the favour of God he shall conduct himself with propriety.

"Nothing of much value, I believe, will remain after my debts are discharged, the management of which business I commit to my brother, in whose faithfulness and good will, I have confidence, on which account I will and appoint him to be the executor of this my testament, and together with him my worthy friend Laurence de Normandie; giving them full power and authority, without an order of Court, to take an inventory of my goods, and sell the moveables, to procure money to fulfil the conditions of my above written will, which I have set forth and declared, this 25th day of April, in the year 1564.

"JOHN CALVIN.

"The next day, being the 26th of April 1564, the same worthy man, Calvin, commanded me to be called to him, together with Theodore Beza, Raymond Calvet, Michael Cop, Lewis Enoch, Nicholas Calladon, James de Bordes, Ministers and Preachers of the word of God in the Church of Geneva, and also the worthy Henry Scringer, Professor of Arts, citizens of Geneva, and in their presence he testified and declared, that he dictated to me his testament, in the form above written. He directed me to read the same in their hearing. He then testified and declared it to be his last will, which he desired to have carried into effect. In testimony and confirmation of which, he requested them all to witness the same with their hands, which was done the year and month above, at Geneva, in the street commonly called *the Canons*, and in the house of the testator. In proof of which, I have subscribed the same with my hand, and sealed it with the common seal of our Supreme Court.

"PETER CHENALAT."

Having thus made his will, he signified to the four Syndicks, and to the Senators, his desire to address them before his death in the Senate-room, to which he hoped to be carried on the following day. They answered, that it would be more agreeable to visit him, and requested him to be careful of his health. On the next day, they all repaired from the Senate room, to the house of Calvin. After mutual salutations, he acknowledged the respect they had shown him, and addressed them as follows :—

"I have long wished for a conference with you, but have deferred it till I was more certainly assured of the near approach of death. I return you thanks, my highly honoured Lords, for having distinguished me with so many honours, which I have by no means deserved, and for bearing so patiently with my many infirmities, which I have always considered as a singular mark of your benevolence towards me. In the exercise of my ministry, I have been obliged to undergo various contests, and to sustain many insults; trials, to which the best of men must submit, and which I know and acknowledge have not arisen from your fault. I earnestly beseech you, that, if in any thing I have not performed my duty as I ought, you will ascribe it to my inability, and not to any indisposition. I assure you, that I have always taken a deep interest in the welfare of this Republick; and if I have not accomplished all that my station demanded of me, I have however always laboured with my whole strength to promote the publick good. Should I refrain from avowing, that the Lord has sometimes used my endeavours for the accomplishment of this object, I should be guilty of dissimulation. I must entreat your pardon, once more, that I have effected so little in my publick and private capacity, in comparison with what I ought to have done; and I freely acknowledge, that I am much indebted to you, for having borne, with so much equanimity, my vehemence, which has sometimes been immoderate, for which sin, I trust I have also the forgiveness of God.

" As to the doctrines which you have heard from me, I testify to you, that I have not rashly nor uncertainly, but purely and sincerely, taught the word entrusted to me of God, knowing that otherwise his indignation would already hang suspended over my head; but now I am confident, that my labours in the ministry have not been displeasing to him. I make this declaration, in the presence of God, and before you, the more willingly, as I have no doubt, but that Satan, after his usual manner, will raise up many vain, dishonest and giddy minded men, to corrupt the pure doctrines which you have heard from me."

He then called their attention, to those immense benefits with which God had distinguished them. " There is no one," he said, " who can inform you better than myself, from how many and how great dangers, the Almighty and merciful God has delivered you. You see in what circumstances you are placed. Whether in prosperity or adversity, keep this truth, I entreat you, constantly before your eyes, that it is He alone preserves cities and kingdoms; and that He in return demands that they worship Him. Remember that David, that illustrious king, testifies, that it was when he enjoyed a profound peace, that he experienced his fall, from which he never would have arisen, if God had not stretched out his hand, with singular favour, to his relief. What then may not happen to weak and infirm men, since so powerful and brave a Prince has fallen? You must humble yourselves, therefore, in the presence of God, that he may give you grace to live in his fear, and to put your whole confidence in him. Thus will you be assured of the continuance of the same protection which you have so often experienced, and may proceed with stability, under his care, even when your prosperity and security may hang suspended on a slender thread. If things proceed prosperously, take heed, I beseech you, not to exalt yourselves like profane men, but with all humility of heart, give thanks unto God. If misfortunes befal you, and death surround you on every side, still hope in him, who raises even the dead: Nay, consider well, that God is by this means awakening you from your sloth, that you may learn to look unto him alone, with the most entire confidence. If you would preserve this Republick in its present stability, give the most persevering heed, that you pollute not, by your vices, the sacred seats on which he has placed you. He is the Most High God, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who will honour those who honour him, but will cast down in abasement, those who despise him. Worship him, therefore, according to his commandments, and think more and more intensely on this duty. We are very far from rendering unto God, our reasonable service. I know the disposition and manner of life of each of you, and that you have need of this exhortation. Among those who excel, there is no one, who does not come short of his duty in many things. Let every one examine himself, and ask of God the supply of his own deficiencies. We see what corruptions prevail in most of the

Councils of the earth. Some, cold and indifferent to the publick interest, pursue with eagerness their own emoluments; others are only intent upon the gratification of their passions; others abuse, beyond measure, the talents which God has given them; others vainly labour to display their own importance, and with confidence demand, that whatever they determine should be approved by the people at large. I would remind the aged not to envy those young persons whom they find to be adorned of God with excellent gifts. I advise the young to conduct themselves with modesty, and to keep far from all self sufficiency. Let not one interfere with the duties of another. Avoid animosities, and those asperities of mind, which prevent many, in the management of publick concerns, from discharging correctly the duties of their office. You will avoid these evils, if each one keeps himself within the limits of his own station, and faithfully fulfils the duties which, in the Republick, are committed to his charge. In judicial proceedings, I beseech you, to give no place to partialities or prejudices. Let no one pervert judgment by artful sophistry: let no one obstruct or weaken the force of the laws by chicane and plausible address: let no one depart from what is just and good. If the evil passions are excited by temptation, resist them with firmness; look to him by whom you are placed on the seat of judgment, and ask of him the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Finally, I again beseech you to pardon my infirmities, which I confess and acknowledge before God, and the Angels, and moreover before you, venerable Lords."

When he had said these things, he prayed to the Almighty and most merciful God, that he would enrich them more abundantly with his gifts, and guide them with his Holy Spirit to the prosperity of the Republick. He then gave his right hand to each one—and bade them all a sorrowful farewell. They parted from him with tears as from a common father.

On the 28th of April, at the request of Calvin, all the Ministers in the jurisdiction of Geneva, assembled in his room, and he addressed them as follows:

"After my death, my brethren, continue in this work, and be not discouraged. The Lord will preserve this Republick and this Church, against all the threats of the enemies. Put away all divisions from among yourselves,and embrace one another with mutual charity. Consider daily, what you owe to the Church in which God has placed you; and suffer nothing to separate you from it. It will indeed be easy for those, who are desirous of leaving their flocks, to find some pretexts to cover their desertion; but they will discover, by experience, that God cannot be deceived. When I first came to this city, the gospel was indeed preached, but the affairs of religion were in a most disordered state, as if Christianity consisted in nothing but the destruction of images. There were many wicked men, from whom I suffered many extreme indignities; but the Lord God himself so strengthened me, even me, I say, who am by nature so timid, (I speak as the fact is,) that I was enabled to resist all their efforts. When I returned to this place from Strasburg, I yielded to the call with an unwilling mind, because it appeared to me that my return would be fruitless. I was ignorant of the designs of God, and the undertaking was full of multiplied and magnified difficulties. But persevering in my work, I perceived at length, that the Lord blessed my labours. Persevere then, my brethren, in your vocation; hold fast the established order; give all diligence, that the people yield obedience to the doctrines; for there are still some wicked and insolent men. You see that the order of the Church is well regulated; and if it is destroyed by your negligence, you will bring upon yourselves the severest judgments of God. I now testify to you, my brethren, that I have always lived with you, and now depart from you, in the true and sincere bonds of charity. And if, at any time, in the course of my sickness, you have found me too morose, I ask your forgiveness, and give you many thanks, that during my confinement, you have discharged the duties of my office."

He then reached his hand to each of his brethren, who retired weeping and with sorrowful hearts.

On the 2d of May, Calvin received a letter from Farel,* now 75 years of age, and quite infirm, informing him of his determination to make him a visit. To this letter he returned the following answer :

"CALVIN TO FAREL, wishes health.

"Farewell, my best and most worthy brother. Since God has determined, that you should survive me in this world, live mindful of our union, which has been so useful to the Church of God, and the fruits of which await us in heaven. Do not fatigue yourself on my account. I draw my breath with difficulty; and am expecting continually that my breath will fail. It is sufficient that I live and die in Christ, who is gain to his servants in life and in death. Again, farewell, with the brethren.

"GENEVA, May 2, 1564."

The venerable Farel, however, visited Calvin, and renewed with him for a night that friendship, which death cannot dissolve, but which will be consummated in the heavenly world. After this, Calvin spent his time almost constantly in prayer, which his difficulty in breathing prevented him from uttering with a distinct articulation; but his expressive eyes raised towards heaven, and the serenity of his countenance bespoke the comfort of his mind, and the solemnity of his devotion. As his voice was sometimes distinct, he was heard to say, *I was dumb, O Lord, because thou didst it.—I did mourn as a dove.—Lord, thy hand is heavy on me, but I am abundantly satisfied, because it is* THY *hand.*

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* Viret was at this time at the Court of the amiable and intrepid Jane, Queen of Navarre, daughter of Margaret de Valois, whose piety and constancy she surpassed. Under the protection of this patroness of the Reformers, Viret died in 1571, aged 60.

To have admitted all the persons, who, from affectionate regard, crouded to see him, would have kept his doors constantly open. As he was unable to converse with them, he requested his friends to pray for him in their retirements, and to omit their visits. To Beza, who was his dearest friend, he intimated, that however agreeable his company might be, he was anxious, that he should not devote to him the time which he owed to religion, and the duties of his office: so careful was he of the time which was dedicated to the Church, and so anxious for the cause of Christ.

On the 19th of May, the Ministers assembled for the *Censura Morum*, and as their custom was to take a meal together in token of friendship, Calvin requested that they should sup in the hall of his house. This meeting was two days previous to the Sabbath, on which the Lord's Supper was statedly administered to their Church. They assembled at his house, and at supper time he was carried, with much difficulty to himself, into the hall. As he approached the table, he said, *I have come, my brethren, to sit with you for the last time at this table.* The scene affected them very deeply. He offered the prayer, ate a little, and conversed as composedly and cheerfully as his weakness would permit. Before the supper was ended, he addressed them—*I must be carried to my bed*, and with a serene and pleasant countenance added, *these walls will not prevent my union with you in spirit, although my body be absent.*

After this day, he arose no more from his bed. His body was extremely emaciated, but his countenance retained still a degree of its usual fullness and vigour. On the 27th of May, his voice was stronger, and he uttered himself with more ease. This was the last effort of nature; for about eight in the evening, all the symptoms of death suddenly appeared. In the full possession of his reason, he continued speaking, till, without a struggle or a gasp, his breath ceased, and the spirit of this great doctrinal luminary of the Reformation departed, about the going down of the sun.

The following night and day, the whole people were in mourning: For the city had lost her best citizen—the Church, her faithful Pastor—the College, her first Professor—and every family, a common father and comforter.

The house was crouded with persons, anxious to behold the remains of one whom they so highly respected. Several strangers, among whom was the Ambassadour of Queen Elizabeth to France, who had made a visit to Geneva to see and hear him, earnestly requested, as they had not been permitted to visit him while he lived, that they might at least see the body of so distinguished a man. Permission was granted, but the curiosity was so general that the friends judged it expedient to exclude the visitors, lest they should give occasion to the Papists to calumniate them as paying a religious respect to his body. The next morning, being the Lord's day, his body was wrapped in a linen cloth, and enclosed in a wooden coffin. At two o'clock in the afternoon, it was carried, being followed by the Syndicks, Senators, Pastors and Professors of the College, together with almost the whole City, weeping as they went, and deposited without pomp in the common burying ground, called the *Planum Palatium, the level Court.* According to his request, no hillock or monument was erected to his memory. A plain stone, without any inscription, was laid over the spot that covered his body.

Beza wrote a few verses, in commemoration of his virtues, in which he alludes to the simplicity of his grave. The following is a translation from the Latin:—*

Why, in this humble and unnoticed tomb,
Is Calvin laid, the dread of falling Rome,
Mourned by the good, and by the wicked feared,
By all who knew his excellence revered;
From whom ev'n virtue's self might virtue learn,
And young and old its value may discern?
'Twas modesty, his constant friend on earth,
That laid this stone unsculptured with a name.
O happy turf, enriched with Calvin's worth,
More lasting far than marble is thy fame.

Calvin died aged 54 years, 10 months and 17 days.—He was 28 years in the ministry.

Calvin's stature was of the middle size; his complexion pale and dark; his eyes brilliant and expressive. In his habits, he was neat without ostentation, and plain without carelessness. He was reasonably temperate in his diet, and alike free from the pride of luxury and the littleness of parsimony. His hours of sleep were few; his mind was almost unremittingly exerted; and by his intellectual powers, he was distinguished from others, and held a dignified and easy pre-eminence among his cotemporaries. The vigour of his youth was a pledge of a stable manhood. He gave early specimens of mental greatness. The germs of genius were discovered and cherished, by the patronage of the noble family of Mommor. His father observed his early hatred to vice, and devoted him to the cause of religion; but parental partiality changed his purpose for the more lucrative and courtly profession of law. But God had enriched the soul of this youth with uncommon talents, for more exalted ends. In the College, where he was located to pursue his legal studies, the light of the pure doctrines opened upon his capacious soul, and dissipated the dark clouds of oppressive superstition. A new field and the most attractive objects rose in his view. He followed the impulses of his heart, and the guidance of the scriptures, till he escaped from the dominion of Papal darkness.

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* See the Scots' Magazine, vol. 2, p. 89.

The progress of this great man in every study, in which he engaged, was astonishing. His companions and acquaintance acknowledged his superiority. Unremitting in his studies, he appeared to reach at once the heights of wisdom and science. In the morning of life, at the age of twenty-two years, Scaliger "pronounced him to be the most learned man in Europe." By the peculiar force of his talents he acquired, with facility, that degree of knowledge, which others obtain by a slow and laborious progress. His perception was quick, and his comprehension vast. He embodied the relative parts of a subject, and presented it to the minds of others, with a clearness and precision most effectually adapted to produce unwavering conviction.

His memory was tenacious. The lapse of years rarely effaced, from his recollection, persons whom he had once recognized. Amidst cares and labours, which crouded successively upon each other, nothing was forgotten. His facility of recollection, in the theological chair, was of great value to himself, and highly useful to his pupils. His mind was order, and his life system. In composing the most difficult works, when interrupted for hours, by company and conversation, he would return and pursue his subject without reviewing what he had written, to catch afresh the train of his thoughts.

His judgment was discriminating, and he discerned, with uncommon accuracy, the course to be pursued, and the means to be used, in the accomplishment of desirable objects. His dominion was over the intellectual powers of man. His plans for promoting the cause of religion were deliberately formed, and pursued with an intuitive and prospective apprehension of men and things. In difficult cases, he advised and pursued moderate and persevering measures, which rarely failed of ultimate success. The many Churches and individuals, who sought his counsel, found his opinions grounded, not merely on the immediate state of things, but on the probable progress and changes which would naturally be their result. His advice rarely failed of proving its wisdom, from the effectual issue of its operation in securing the object.

In his writings, Calvin evinces the strongest proof of a great mind, not in one production, or on a single subject, but on all subjects, to which he directed the mighty current of his thoughts. Having fixed on the end to be pursued, observing the objections to be obviated, and the difficulties to be surmounted, his arguments are selected, and without saying all that a more feeble mind would say, he adheres to those reasons which, if admitted, other things follow of course; and the mind feels itself under the necessity of assenting to the force of truth, which lights upon it so unexpectedly, and so benevolently, and yields to his authority, to avoid the visible absurdities, and more flagrant inconsistencies, which it finds to be attached to previous opinions.

Calvin possessed an intellectual prudence, which enabled him to discern the limits of legitimate knowledge. Unlike those men, who would be thought great, by the smoke which they raise, and in which they involve themselves, while they still profess to see clearly, boldly impeaching others of their nictating vision, who are modest enough to avow their inability to discern the consistency of absurdities, he was modest in submitting to stop at the bounds of revelation, and yet bold in asserting what the divine testimony warranted. He intrepidly maintained the sovereignty of

God over moral agents, and no less resolutely curbed vain curiosity and metaphysical speculation on abstruse subjects. Mysteries he left to God, or another world. In systematizing divine truth, he located doctrines, duties and the means of grace in an order which cannot be broken, without producing some such effect as would result to the human body by displacing its members, and combining them in a different relation. He considered it the province of mad philosophy to overstep the maxims of common sense, and travel into the regions of perfectibility by the light of human reason. But truths involving the deepest mysteries, he believed on the testimony of God; and was warmly opposed to that impious rashness which rejects whatever it cannot comprehend, or the truth of which it cannot now see the utility.

Personal ease, interest and reputation were secondary objects with Calvin. Love to the cause of Christ was the master passion of his soul. To promote this cause he exerted every talent, and extended the narrow boundaries allotted him by Providence, by arresting each moment of the rapid current of life, and turning it to some useful purpose. He appropriately selected the words of his *device*, promptè et sincerè, *promptly and sincerely.* Stern integrity and incredible fortitude were discovered in all his actions. Endowed by Providence with pre-eminent talents, disciplined for their effectual use, located in a most distinguished city, at a most eventful period, Calvin furnishes a rich model of learning, of diligence and success in the cause of Christ. He felt, he thought, he wrote and laboured for the most distant Churches, and for posterity.

Anxious for the union of all the friends of the truth, he was accommodating, in the most liberal manner, to the friends of the pure doctrines; but was unyielding on any point, which he considered essential to the purity and prosperity of the Church. He was constitutionally susceptible of quick emotions; and he frankly acknowledges, that he had not succeeded in his struggles to conquer his impatient and irritable temper, with all the success which he desired. My efforts, he says, have not been wholly useless, although I have not been able to conquer the ferocious animal. Tender and forbearing towards the weak, the ignorant and sincere, he delighted to cherish the smoking flax, and strengthen the bruised reed. But his severity was sometimes indignant against the open and obstinate enemies of religion, who profanely trampled on the inestimable truths of Christ, and endangered, by their profligate opinions, the souls of others. Prompt as he was sincere, he treated his friend and compeer Melancthon with the same undisguised freedom, as he used towards his bitterest enemies, measuring to each according, as he judged, that their opinions or conduct affected the cause of religion.

The writings of Calvin had a salutary effect upon the Romish Church. By the exposure of her pollutions, her shame was excited; she abandoned some abuses in her doctrines, and girded herself in a somewhat more restrictive discipline. The reformed Churches in France adopted his confession of faith, and were modelled after the ecclesiastical order of Geneva. The liturgy of the English Church was revised and reformed by his means. In Scotland and Holland his system was adopted; and many Churches in Germany and Poland, indeed in every country into which the light of the Reformation has made its way, have felt the influence of his powerful mind. But at Geneva, as a central point, "he was the light of the Church, the oracle of the laws, the supporter of liberty, the restorer of morals, and the fountain of literature and the sciences." To him the Genevese owe the establishment of their University and Schools, which have enabled them to furnish, to every country in Europe, so many Instructors and men of science. Skilled in the profession of law, Calvin aided in establishing those civil and political regulations which, together with the *Censura Morum* of the Church, secured, for so long a period, the prosperity and stability of that Republick. The author of *the Spirit of Laws* observes, with his usual discrimination, "*that the Genevese ought to celebrate the birth-day of Calvin, and that of his arrival within the walls of their city.*" Zuinglius, Luther and Melancthon, stars of the first magnitude, had appeared above the horizon in the first dawning of the Reformation, and were the precursors and earnest of a glorious day. Calvin arose later, but with a superior intellectual splendour, and moved in an orbit more extensive than the other luminaries of that period. "His extensive genius, flowing eloquence, immense learning, extraordinary penetration, indefatigable industry, and fervent piety, placed him at the head of the Reformers."*

It was a bold enterprise, an arduous task, to attack and demolish the strong holds of passionate and interested superstition. It was, however, a more Herculean labour, to cleanse the Augean stable of Popish pollutions, and to gather the materials, and erect and establish an edifice of doctrines and discipline, which should, at the same time, support that Gospel by which it was itself supported. This was the object for which Calvin laboured, to combine a system of Church order which, under Christ the head, should embrace a living principle to pepetuate itself under all the diversities of civil government. Nothing is perfect with man, but the Reformer of Geneva has done much, under the light of Revelation, and in conformity to her principles, to extend, over the intellectual and moral powers of man, a dominion, which will probably exist in every free and elective government, and only terminate with the close of time.

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* Maclaine's note, in Mosheim.

In the last and trying scene of life, Calvin appeared with all the dignity which the Christian's hope can give to fallen man. While death was breaking his feeble hold from earthly things, his soul reposed with unshaken confidence on the promises of God, and he endured the light and momentary afflictions, apprehending the eternal weight of glory. He took leave of the Ministers of the Church, and Magistrates of the Republick, like a father departing from his family. His warnings and counsels were affectionate without regret, and generous without jealousy. He acknowledged his own weakness, and admonished them of theirs. Experienced in trials and difficulties, he pointed out the way to avoid or surmount them, by fearing God and keeping his commandments. Thus Calvin closed in peace a course of life, which it is easier to censure than to imitate.

LETTERS

OF

CALVIN AND OTHERS,

REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING MEMOIRS.

LETTER I. Prefatory Address to the Commentary on the Psalms.
II. Calvin to Francis Daniel.
III. Bucer to Calvin.
IV. Calvin to Peter Caroli.
V. Calvin to Farel.
VI. Calvin to the Genevese Church.
VII. Calvin to Farel.
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IX. Calvin to Farel.
X. Calvin to Farel.
XI. Calvin to Farel.
XII. James Bernard to Calvin.
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XIV. Calvin to Viret.
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Letter XXII. Calvin to Farel.
XXIII. Address of the Protestant Princes, &c. to Francis I.
XXIV. Calvin to Farel.
XXV. Calvin to the Church of Montbeillard.
XXVI. Sultzer to Calvin.
XXVII. Calvin to Myconius.
XXVIII. Melancthon to Calvin.
XXIX. Calvin to the Ministers of Neufchatel.
XXX. Calvin to the Queen of Navarre.
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XXXIV. Calvin to the Protector of England.
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XLIV. Calvin to Melancthon.
XLV. Calvin to Sir John Cheke.
XLVI. Melancthon to Calvin.
XLVII. Calvin to Melancthon.
XLVIII. Melancthon to Bullinger.
XLIX. Calvin to Martyr.
L. Melancthon to Calvin.
LI. Calvin to Melancthon.
LII. Calvin to Bullinger.
LIII. Calvin to Sir William Cecil.
LIV. Calvin to Olevianus.

LETTER I.

JOHN CALVIN, *to the pious and ingenuous readers, greeting.*

(Extract from the Epistle prefatory to his Commentary on the Psalms. Calvin's works, volume third.)

——————As David was raised from the sheepfold to the highest dignity of government, so God has dignified me, derived from an obscure and humble origin, with the high and honourable office of Minister and Preacher of the Gospel. My father had destined me, from my childhood, for theology. But, observing how extensively the science of the law enriched its professors, he suddenly changed his purpose; and recalled me from the study of philosophy to that of jurisprudence. In this I obeyed the will of my father, and endeavoured to give faithful attention. God, however, with the reins of his secret Providence, eventually turned my course in a different direction. At my first entrance on that study, I was indeed too pertinaciously addicted to the superstitions of the Papacy, to be easily drawn out of such deep mire; and my mind too firmly rooted in those habits, to yield with docility to a change in my studies so entire and unexpected. At length, however, having experienced some taste of the pure doctrines, I was inflamed with such zeal to progress farther, that, although I did not reject my other studies, yet I pursued them only in a cold and indifferent manner. One year had not elapsed, before all those, who were desirous of the knowledge of the purer doctrines, flocked to me for instruction, while as yet I was myself a mere beginner in that school.

My natural disposition was reserved; I always loved retirement and liesure; and at this time I chose to be unmolested and unknown. This, however, was not granted me; and all my retreats became as much frequented as a publick school. At last, while it was my whole purpose to cherish my studies in unknown retirement, God so surrounded me with changes, that I was frustrated in my wishes; and, in opposition to all my inclinations, I was forced into publick notice. For this reason, I left France, and retired into Germany; that, by hiding in some obscure corner, I might enjoy that repose which had long been denied me. But observe, while I lived unknown and secluded at Basil, the burning of many pious men in France excited, throughout Germany, severe indignation. In order to remove these resentments, wicked and false pamphlets were dispersed, in which it was asserted, that those, who were thus cruelly burnt, were only Anabaptists, and some turbulent persons who, by their perverse conceits, were attempting to overthrow not only religion, but the whole order of civil government. Perceiving that, by this artifice, the crafty courtiers of Francis designed to cover the crime of shedding innocent blood, and to cast a false reproach on those holy martyrs, and also from that time to secure to themselves, under this pretence, the privilege of persecuting the Reformers, even to death, without the hazard of exciting the resentment or compassion of any on account of their sufferings, I determined that my silence could not be excused from perfidy; and that it was my duty to oppose those proceedings with all my power.

The reasons for my publishing the INSTITUTES were:—*First*, that I might vindicate, from unjust reproaches, those brethren whose death was precious in the sight of the Lord. *Secondly*, because similar punishments threatened many defenceless and oppressed persons, for whom I was anxious to excite, at least, some compassion and solicitude among foreign nations. This work was not then so full and laborious as it now is, *sed breve duntaxat Enchiridion tunc in lucem prodiit*, but a short Manual only was then published, having solely in view, to testify the faith of those whom I saw wickedly put to death, by the impious and perfidious courtiers of the King. Besides, that I by no means sought to increase my own fame, is evident from my immediate departure from Basil, when as yet no one in that city knew me to be the author. This I continued to conceal, as it was my determined purpose to be unknown, until I was retained at Geneva, not so much by counsel and intreaty, as by the formidable and solemn injunction of William Farel, which arrested me, not otherwise than if God from Heaven had laid his powerful hand upon me.

As the wars had obstructed the direct road to Strasburg, I had determined to pass rapidly through this city; and to make no longer stay than for a single night. A short time before this, the Papacy had been overthrown by the labours of those excellent men, Farel and Peter Viret. Matters were however yet unsettled, and the city was divided into corrupt and noxious factions. A certain man, who by a base defection has since returned to the Papists, immediately made me known. Farel, warm with incredible zeal for spreading the Gospel, instantly exerted all his influence to retain me. When he understood, that my purpose was to devote myself to private and retired studies, and found that he prevailed not at all with me by entreaties, he proceeded even to the imprecation—*That God would curse my retirement, if I should withhold my assistance in so great necessity.* Struck with awe by this, I omitted my journey; but so conscious was I of my bashfulness and timidity, that *I would not pledge myself certainly to undertake the pastoral charge.*

Scarcely four months had passed, when we were attacked, on the one hand, by the Anabaptists, and on the other, by a wicked apostate who, relying on the clandestine assistance of certain *Syndicks,* was enabled to give us very much trouble. In the mean time, domestick seditions agitated us extensively in continual succession. Notwithstanding I am, from my natural disposition, timid, flexible and without courage, yet I was compelled to bear these impetuous tumults at my very entrance on the rudiments of office. Although I was not overwhelmed by these tumultuous waves, yet so great magnanimity did not sustain me, but that I rejoiced, beyond what was becoming, when I was so factiously ejected from my office. Being discharged, and free from the obligation of my calling, I determined, in the first place, to repose myself in retirement; when that most excellent Minister of Christ, Martin Bucer, drew me back to my first station, by an adjuration similar to that used by Farel. Awakened by the example of Jonah, which he proposed, I entered upon the office of Teacher. Although I was uniform in avoiding publick celebrity, I know not by what means I was induced to attend the imperial conventions, where, willing or unwilling, I must of necessity appear publickly in the presence of multitudes, Afterwards, when the Lord, by shewing mercy according to his word, had by his marvellous strength dissipated those counsels, which were as wicked, as the endeavours of the factious to execute them were sanguinary, a necessity was laid upon me of being brought back again to my original station, against the desires of my heart. Although the prosperity of this Church was of such high concern, that I would willingly have undergone death for its sake, yet my timidity suggested a great variety of excuses, why I should not afresh subject my shoulders to a burden so oppressive. At last, however, the obligation and repsonsibility of my office determined me to restore myself to the flock from which I had been violently separated; yet with what deep sorrow, abundant tears, and extreme anxiety, the best of Beings is my witness.——

————From that time, with what various conflicts he has exercised me, and with what trials he has proved me, if I would relate them, the history would be long.———

GENEVA, July 23, 1557.

LETTER II.

JOHN CALVIN TO FRANCIS DANIEL.

As I have to relate to you a multitude of events, which would afford me matter for a long letter, I shall limit myself accordingly, and give you rather an index than a narrative, for should I indulge in details, they would grow to a volume. On the first of October, it is customary for the youths, who pass from their grammatical studies to the dialecticks, to be exercised in the performance of plays. At this anniversary, a play was performed in the College of Navarre, which was filled with bitterness and raillery, rather than the severity of satire. Among the characters introduced, was a Queen, busied about nothing but handling her needle, or holding her distaff. *Megera* enters, and with her torch makes a signal to the Queen to throw aside her needle and her distaff. The Queen at first refuses, but soon after yields to the *Fury*, from whom she receives the Gospel, which deprives her of all she before knew, and makes her almost forget herself. She presently becomes a tyrant, and persecutes the miserable and inoffensive, with every kind of severity. To these were added many other similar fictions, equally unjust in their application to the woman, whom the author evidently designed to insult. The affair, for some days, was kept secret. But, as *truth is the daughter of time*, the whole story was soon related to the Queen. Believing that if this insult was passed over unpunished, it might afford a dangerous example to all those who were fond of novelty, she ordered the commander of the guards to repair immediately to the College, with an hundred men. At his order, they surrounded the house so that no one should escape, while with a few attendants he entered, but found not the author of the play. The offender had not, they say, anticipated this event, but being in the room of a friend, and hearing the tumult, he was secreted, till an opportunity was afforded for his escape. The officer of the guards seized the actors, but the Principal of the College made opposition, and during the altercation, stones were thrown by some of the students. Notwithstanding, he apprehended them, and obliged each of them to recite the part he had acted in the play. Exceptions were taken against the whole comedy. But as the author could not be found, they proceeded to secure those who might have suppressed the performance, and who yet sanctioned it with their permission, and dissembled about it afterwards. The first in authority, Lauret, requested to be lodged in the house of the Commissary, as a more decent place than a prison. Morinus, the next instructor in order, was commanded to remain at home, until he should be examined. What has been discovered since, I cannot say. Their trial is said to be deferred till three days hence. Thus much for comedies.

Some factious Divines have committed another outrage equally malicious, though not so daring. Having found, in examining the shops of the book-sellers, a work entitled *The Mirror of a sinful Soul*,* they placed it in the number of those books, the reading of which they prohibited. When the Queen heard this, she complained to the King, and confessed herself to be the author. The King ordered the directors of the Parisian University to inform him, whether they had placed it among the books which inculcated the reprobated religion. If they had, to give him the reason of their judgment. Nicolas Cop, a Physician, now Rector of the University, brought this enquiry before the Colleges of the arts, of medicine, philosophy, theology and the canon law. With the Professors of the arts, among whom he had the right of speaking first, he inveighed, in a long and bitter speech, against the rashness of those, who had usurped that right over her Majesty.

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* This work was in French verse, and contained several things not common in the Church of Rome. In it no mention was made of any men or women saints, nor merits, nor any other purgatory but the blood of Jesus Christ. The prayer, commonly called the *Salve Regina*, was by the Queen in this work applied to Jesus Christ. This book excited the indignation of Noel Beda, Principal of the College of Montaigu, and the rest of the Sorbonne of his temper; and this led to the acting of the play, in which the Queen of Navarre was insulted. Beza Eccles. Hist. quoted by Bayle.

He advised them not to expose themselves to so great danger, lest they should excite the anger of the King, by taking up arms against the Queen, the protectress of virtue and literature. And lastly he cautioned them against taking this fault upon themselves, and thereby cherishing the wickedness of those who are ready to attempt any thing under this pretext, *The Academy has done it*, even when the Academy has given no such authority. They unanimously agreed, to abjure the condemnation of the work. The Professors of theology, of canon law and medicine, passed the same decree. The Rector announced the decree of his order, and the other Professors followed his example; and lastly, the Pastor of the Parish of St. Andrews, on whom the blame now devolved, after extolling in the most magnificent terms the integrity of the King, who had thus far conducted himself as the zealous protector of the faith, added that there were some abandoned men, who endeavoured to pervert his royal mind, who had conspired to effect the fall of the sacred faculty; but he was confident, that they would effect nothing against the established constancy of the King. As to the business under consideration, he had indeed been appointed, by the decree of the Academy, to the office of Book-censor,* but nothing had ever been farther from his mind, than to attempt any thing to the injury of the Queen, whom he considered as a woman distinguished for the sanctity of her morals, and the purity of her religion; in proof of which, he would only mention the funeral obsequies with which she had honoured the memory of her departed mother. That he held as condemned only such obscene books as the *Pantagruel*,† and the *Sylvam amorum, et ejus monetæ;* and that he had placed this among those which were suspected, it having been published without the consent of the faculty; the blame therefore rested on the decree by which it was forbidden to publish any book unapprobated, that respected matters of faith. In fine, said he, this will be my protection, that I did by the order of the faculty what is now called in question. The fault, if there is any, is common to all, although they deny it. He said also, that he had spoken other things in French, that all might understand whether he spoke the truth. But they were filled with indignation that he should endeavour to cover his ignorance with such a cloak. The Bishop of Senlis, Stella and some of the Prefects of the royal palace were present at this debate. When the Pastor had finished, Parui, the Bishop of Senlis, said he had read the book, and found nothing worthy of censure, unless he had forgotten his theology. He closed by requesting, that a decree should be published, which would satisfy the King. The Rector, Cop, declared, that the Academy did not acknowledge, approve or take upon itself the censure, whatever it was, by which the book was numbered among those which were condemned or suspected. That it might appear by what reasons they defended themselves; the Academy addressed letters to the King, in which they made their apology, and gave him thanks for having called them together in a manner so kind and paternal. A decree was obtained from the King, ordering that the Bishop of Paris should appoint the Preachers in the different parishes, as those who had made the election before, acting according to their own fantastical humour, had called to this service the most clamourous, and those filled with a species of fury which they termed zeal, than which the sun was never more burning, and yet, with such zeal, they were zealous over the house of God. Farewell. 1533.

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* The Censors of books were a body of Doctors, at Paris, who were established by the Pope in the fifteenth century, with the privilege of suppressing or correcting books after or before their publication.

† A Romance of Rabelais.

LETTER III.

BUCER TO CALVIN.

Grace and peace be multiplied to you, my much esteemed brother, and fellow-labourer in the Lord. We have entreated the illustrious and truly noble Maurus Museus, personally at Basil, and now by letters, to obtain your consent to assist us in our controversial disputes on religious subjects. We must acknowledge, as it appears to us, that the Lord has destined you to be eminently useful to his Churches, and will extensively bless your ministry. We are anxious that both we ourselves, our Churches, and those who are preparing for the ministry with us or elsewhere, should be in harmony with your sentiments on every point of theology. You must be sensible, how extensively injurious it will be to the cause of the Churches, if a difference of opinion is entertained, even on minor points, among the principle Pastors. If we are faithful to ourselves, the Lord, I trust, will put it in our power to promote unanimity of opinion among the Ministers and Churches, especially if we can have your doctrines illustrated and enforced by yourself.

We will cheerfully meet you, in any place you will appoint, for the purpose of a conference upon the whole administration of evangelical doctrines, preserving the highest respect for the truth of Christ, and a becoming regard for you in the Lord. This age has so advanced in the practice of calumniating whatever is judiciously said, or correctly written, and of judging with the most rigid severity whatever is of an opposite character, that it becomes us to use every means to render our ministry as influential, as its importance is dignified. We are under the strongest obligations, to bring all our exertions into unison, both to secure our writings and discourses from any unmerited reproach; and to exhibit the beauty of holiness in that simplicity of language which is adapted to the capacities of the very children in the Church of Christ. You are sensible, my respected brother, and fellow-labourer in the Lord, how highly the Apostle Paul estimated the meetings and conferences of holy men, as tending to promote knowledge and purity; how cheerfully he travelled over land and sea to animate those believers, whom he knew to be anxious for the edification of the Church, to be frequent in their society. Appoint, therefore, a place, either at Basil, Bern, or even at Geneva, if the duties of your office confine you, that we may religiously confer upon subjects, which, although clearly apprehended by you, to our tardy understandings, require a more extensive illustration. The wise are debtors to the unwise, that they also may understand. It would afford us much pleasure, did our ecclesiastical duties, which we cannot neglect, allow us, even uninvited and transiently, to visit the Swiss Churches. I cannot well express how much it grieves me not to have known and conversed with you, when you were here. Capito, however, communicates every thing to me. I know not what evil spirit made him so forgetful as not to introduce you to me, which omision he now very much regrets. Farewell, most learned and holy man.

STRASBURG, November 1, 1536.

LETTER IV.

CALVIN TO PETER CAROLI.

Grace and peace to you from the Lord, who can inspire both you and us with a good understanding and a right heart. Since your situation is such, we should have preferred to have you presented yourself in person, to treat in our presence concerning a reconciliation, rather than that you should attempt this by a letter. You vehemently labour to prove, that you did not excite disturbances in the Church without just cause; as if there could be some good reason for exciting those disturbances. Grant that you were not treated in that manner, by the brethren, which you ought to have been. Would this indeed furnish you with a right to raise such a tumult? Will you say, that it was the Spirit of God that influenced you to declare war upon us all? I do not say this to upbraid you; I wish I was permitted to be wholly silent. But while you connect all those with Satan, who did not, at least according to your opinion, treat you with sufficient equity, you certainly suppose them to be very stupid, if you imagine that this business can be passed over in silence.——————————You still glory in this, that you have attempted nothing against the Gospel even at Metz. But by what method will you prove this to us? If any one carries on a warfare with a profound servant of Christ, and instead of aiding, obstructs, in every possible manner, the kingdom of Christ, would it not be strange if you should declare such a man to stand on the side of the Gospel? Look, I beseech you, again and again, to the end of your course. We hold a ministry in no manner separated from Christ. If you doubt this, we still have the certain and confident testimony of our conscience. You may flatter yourself as you will; you will at last find, that it is hard kicking against the pricks. In the mean time, how are you able to injure us? You will call us hereticks. Where? Among those, for instance, who hold you as a heretick, and at this very moment expose your falsehoods. Among the pious and the learned, I fear no injury from your reproaches. They see all these things in that light, in which I would have you receive them, and call them to mind before that God whose presence you begin to acknowledge. And I beseech you do not meditate your defence by the condemnation of that injustice in others, for which you want not only a foundation, but even a pretext. If you will still persevere in this way, I shall be satisfied. I would not, by any means, have you cast away all hope and courage. For if you will exhibit to us the true and substantial index of a right mind, we are sincerely prepared to have you return immediately into our favour, and have all things buried, forgiven and erased wholly from the memory. I wish you were able, Caroli, to inspect my breast; for there is nothing I more desire, than that you should in the first place be reconciled to God, that a lasting union might be formed between us. But, believe me, you will never acceptably serve the Lord, unless you lay aside your haughtiness and bitterness of tongue. If you have then a mind to return into favour with us, we are prepared to embrace you, and to render you every office of kindness in our power. But we are not able to enter into that compact which you demand; for how shall we at this time promise you a Church? In the first place, you know, that Churches are not at our disposal; besides, with what conscience should we promise that to you, before it is evident, that we agree in doctrine. You do not dissemble but that as yet you differ from us; and yet you would have us designate a place for you as a teacher. Weigh, yourself, the extreme impropriety of this. Were we to be so obsequious to you, you would correctly judge us to be something more than stupid. But to conclude, I beseech you to examine thoroughly the whole cause, by yourself, with a composed and sedate mind; and weigh this letter in the scales of candid and impartial judgment. You certainly know, that it is the highest wisdom to turn from the evil course into which you have entered. If you will make the experiment, no office of friendship shall be wanting to you, when restored, from me, and Farel seriously promises the same for himself. You will remember, that the charity which you so severely demand of others, must be shewn, in some measure, towards others. If I seem to be somewhat too severe, think what your letter deserves. I mention this only to profit you; what I have written, is for the purpose of calling up your sins to your remembrance. Farewell, my brother in the Lord, if you suffer yourself to be esteemed and to hold the place of a brother. The Lord Jesus Christ guide you by the spirit of counsel and prudence, that from those dangerous rocks, against which you have broken, and that tempestuous sea on which you are tossed, you may be received safe into the haven of rest.

Your sincere friend, JOHN CALVIN.

STRASBURG, August 10, 1540.

P. S. Farel bids you to be in health, and wishes that you may be sincerely converted to the Lord, and so may you be prepared to return to our friendship and fraternal union, as we ourselves are prepared to embrace you.

LETTER V.

CALVIN TO FAREL.

I am so overwhelmed, by the death of Coraud, that I cannot put any limits to my sorrow. My daily occupations have no power to retain my mind from recurring to the event, and revolving constantly the impressive thought. The distracting impulses of the day are followed by the more torturing anguish of the night. I am not only troubled with dreams, to which I am inured by habit, but I am greatly enfeebled by those restless watchings, which are extremely injurious to my health. But what wounds my mind so deeply, is the heinousness of the circumstances, if the suspicions are true, and I am forced, in opposition to my wishes, to give them some credit. To what length, will posterity go, when such monstrous things are perpetrated in the very commencement of our labours. I fear, and not without reason, that this wickedness will be shortly punished by some dreadful calamity of the Church. It is in fact no small token of divine displeasure, which we now experience, that amidst the scarcity of good men, the Church should be deprived of Coraud, whose talents and piety placed him among the first of that character. Shall we not then, my brother, mourn this distressing calamity, and be in bitterness under the chastisement of our Father? But however oppressed with grief we still have the light of consolation, springing up from those testimonies of affection and respect, by which his acquaintance amply prove their exalted opinion of his ability and integrity. And the Lord will not permit the iniquity of our enemies to remain concealed even from the eyes of men. They have not gained a single hair by his death. He still bears testimony against their wickedness, at the tribunal of God; and his accusing voice will more clearly sound destruction in their ears, than if the Almighty himself should shake the earth.

The Lord has spared us, to survive Coraud. Let us be diligent to follow his example; and watchful to tread in the path of increasing light, till we shall have finished our course. Let no difficulties dismay us, or any weight of earthly suffering impede our progress towards that rest into which, we trust, he is received. Without the hope of this glory to cheer us in our way, we shall be overcome with difficulties, and driven to despair. But as the truth of the Lord remains firm and unshaken, so let us abide in the hope of our calling, until the hidden kingdom of God be made manifest.

Our adversaries have sounded the alarm, by an open declaration of war at Minden, which being merely on a religious account, we are all implicated. If the God of armies guards us by his strength, we shall have a firm and invincible protection; otherwise we can make but a feeble defence, and shall be easily overpowered. To this asylum let us unitedly have recourse; for it will remain unmoved though the earth should be shaken to its centre. We shall not cease to solicit a Council until it is obtained.

Sonerius has presented another question for our discussion; whether it is lawful for him and others in like circumstances, to receive the Lord's Supper, from the hands of such polluted men, or even to communicate with them? On this question, there was no difference between Capito and myself. We answered, that Christians ought to have an aversion to schisms, and if possible avoid them. Such should be their reverence for the ministry, and the sacraments, that wherever these are perceived to exist, there the Church should be acknowledged. Let the Ministers, therefore, by whom God permits the Church to be governed, be what they may, if the signs of the true Church are perceived, it will be better not to separate from the communion. Nor is it an objection, that some impure doctrines are there delivered; for there is scarce any Church which retains none of the remains of ignorance. It is sufficient for us, that the doctrine, on which the Church of Christ is founded, should hold its place and influence. Nor should we object, that one who fraudulently obtains, or even wickedly thrusts himself into the place of a true Minister, should not be considered as a legitimate Pastor. It is not the business of private persons to entangle themselves in these scruples. They communicate, in the sacraments, with the Church, who agree to have them dispensed by the hands of those whom they consider as holding the standing of Ministers. And although it belongs to the members of the Church, to know who or what their Pastors are, and whether they hold their office justly or unjustly, yet they ought to suspend any judgment until they are able to settle the question in a lawful manner. Although they should employ such persons, there will be no danger, that they should appear to acknowledge them with approbation, or settle them by stipulated contract. In this manner they will give testimony of their patience, by bearing with those whom they suppose worthy of condemnation, in a regular and solemn judgment.——————I entreat you, my brother, in this age of iniquity, to endeavour to retain all who are in any degree tolerable. Concerning ceremonies, see that the brethren do not contend with the same obstinacy as their neighbours. Let all things be conducted so that we may be only the servants of peace and concord.———The Lord preserve and strengthen you, my dear brother, by his Spirit, in all your trials. Your solicitude for me requires that I should, in return, recommend to you to be careful of your health. You appear, it is said, to be very much worn down. I entreat you, my brother, to think so much of others as to remember, that you are still necessary to them, and the Church of Christ. A thousand salutations so all my brethren with you, to Viret, &c. Capito, Sturmius and Firmius salute you.

STRASBURG, October 24, 1538.

LETTER VI.

EXTRACTS FROM CALVIN'S LETTER TO THE GENEVESE CHURCH.

——In the first place, laying aside all respect of persons, examine, I pray you, with what honour the Lord would have you treat those whom he has appointed Pastors and Ministers in his Church. He requires us to yield obedience with reverence, while they preach his word; and he commands us to treat with honour those whom he has dignified with his embassy, and wills that we acknowledge them as his messengers. It is true, while we were with you, we did not much contend about the dignity of our ministry, lest we should open some door of suspicion; but as we are now placed beyond that danger, we may freely offer you our opinion. Had I intercourse with those Ministers, I would teach them the true nature of their office, and their obligations to you. *Let each one, both Ministers and private persons, require of himself the correct duties of his own life, and observe more carefully what he owes to others, than what is due from them to him.* When this circumspection shall be exercised and adopted, as a fixed principle, then indeed those who hold the place of Ministers of the word, seeing your souls are committed to their government, will be acknowledged by you in the place of parents; and held in reputation and honour for their office' sake, which they discharge with you, from the vocation of God. Nor would I be understood by this, to take away that right which God has committed to you, and to all his Churches, that they should examine all Pastors, distinguishing the pure from the vile, and reprimand those who, under the disguise of Pastors, would exercise the rapacity of wolves.——————But if you dispute and contend with your Ministers, even to noise and strife, as I hear is the case, it is very evident, that the ministry of those in whom the glory of the Lord Jesus Christ ought to be manifest, is subjected to disgrace and reproach; and is almost trodden under foot. It is your duty, therefore, attentively to take heed to this one thing, lest while you suppose you only insult men, you in fact declare war against God himself. Nor should it appear to you a matter of small moment, that schisms and sects should be made and cherished in the Church, which the heart of every Christian must hear of with horror. When separations and withdrawings of this kind take place, between a Pastor and his people, the thing speaks for itself. Finally then, accept this advice: If you would hold me as a brother, let there be a solid union among you, a union worthy of the exalted name of brethren; lest you should reject that ministry which, for your benefit, and the prosperity of the Church, I was compelled to approve, without respecting the favour or fear of men. We have always admonished you to acknowledge the subversion of your Church as the necessary visitation of God, both for your chastisement and our own; and that you should not so much turn your strength against those wicked men, who were the instruments of Satan, as upon your own sins, which justly deserved a more severe punishment than that which has been inflicted.

STRASBURG, June 25, 1539.

LETTER VII.

CALVIN TO FAREL.

To preclude your further anxiety for my long expected letter, I shall forward it fresh from my pen, without waiting for the arrival of Michael. I will pass at present my conference with Melancthon; and state the progress of affairs since my last. The unjust conditions, boldly advanced by the Ambassadour of the Emperour, had well nigh terminated in the assumption of arms to settle the controversy. He proposed that our brethren should separate from the Sacramentarians.* You will be aware, that this is the artifice of Satan, who cherishes on this occasion the former animosities which he sowed; while at the same time new offences, like flaming torches, are kindled up to excite still greater contention. Our German brethren, however, while they refuse to acknowledge the Sacramentarians, are desirous of a union with the Helvetick Churches. The Emperour eventually relinquished this point, which he had laboured to establish as the means of effecting a truce. I earnestly wish, that these things may be useful to the Churches; but in looking them over in their effects, they promise, in my opinion, nothing beneficial. The Elector of Saxony clearly apprehends this, and though supposed to be habitually of a dilatory temperament, he is now fixed in the opinion, that we are under the necessity of hazarding the consequences of war. The Landgrave, beyond all expectation, dissuades from warlike measures; and although he consents to yield to his allies, if they shall judge it expedient, yet his influence has operated extensively in abating the ardour of those who reposed a confidence in his constitutional promptitude. The prospect now looks favourable for an approaching truce, in which every attention will be given to those objects that may be conducive to unanimity of opinion. The adversaries,† intent to frustrate our purpose in uniting the Churches, meditate only measures which may bring about the war. The Elector of Saxony will go from the Assembly to visit the Duke of Cleves, whose sister he married. If the Elector can draw the Duke over to the cause of religion, it will be a great benefit to the Church of Christ. He is the most powerful among the Princes of Lower Germany; and is not exceeded in extent of dominion, nor surpassed in superiority of jurisdiction, by any but Ferdinand himself.

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* These were the followers of Zuinglius, of the Church of Zurich, between whom and the followers of Luther there was a wide difference of opinion, about the manner of the presence of Christ in the sacrament.

† These were the Pope's agents, as appears from Seckendorf, vol. 2. anno 1539.

When Bucer last wrote me, nothing had been determined concerning the embassy to the King of France, for the safety of the brethren, and the support of the cause of religion. The subject will be discussed and arranged, when other matters shall have been determined, as they will then be enabled to state their request to the King with more fulness and force of argument.

My conference with Melancthon embraced a great variety of subjects. Having previously written him concerning the agreement, I urged the necessity of obtaining the opinion of the best men, upon a matter of so much importance. I forwarded to him a few articles, in which I had concisely summed up the doctrines of truth. To these he consented without controversy, but stated that some in that quarter demanded something more full and explicit, and with such obstinacy and overbearingness that he was, for some time, in danger of being considered as having wholly departed from their opinions. Although he did not suppose that an established agreement would continue long, he still wished that this union, whatever it might be, should be cherished, until the Lord should draw us on both sides into the unity of his truth. Doubt not but that Melancthon is wholly in opinion with us.

It would be tedious to detail our conversations on a diversity of subjects; but they will afford us an agreeable topick at some future interview. When we entered on the subject of discipline, he mourned, as we all of us do, about that unhappy state of the Church, which we are all allowed to deplore, rather than correct. You must not suppose, that you alone labour under the painful burden of ineffectual discipline. Every day new examples are occurring, which should excite us all to the most vigorous exertions, to obtain the desired remedy for these evils. A Minister of integrity and learning was lately ejected from Ulm, with the severest reproach, because he would not indulge them in their vices. He was dismissed with a very honourable recommendation from all his colleagues, and especially from Frechthus. When this was reported at Augsburg, it excited the most unpleasant sensations. These things have a tendency to encourage the licentions to consider it as a matter of sport, to interrupt the Pastors in their ministerial duties, and to drive them into exile. Nor can this evil be remedied, as neither the people nor the Princes distinguish between the brotherly discipline of Christ, and the tyranny of the Pope.

It is the opinion of Melancthon, that we must yield, in a due degree, to the adverse winds of this tempestuous season; and without despairing of eventual success, cast our eyes forward to some favourable moment, when our enemies may be less powerful, and we more able to introduce the remedy for these internal evils. Capito is strongly impressed with the belief that the Church is ruined, unless God shall supply some speedy succours, and good men become united in her defence. Despairing of doing any good, he has a desire for death as a release from his unprofitable labours. But if our vocation is of the Lord, of which we are confident, he will bless and succeed us through all the difficulties that may be thrown in our way. Let us attempt all remedies, and if they fail, still let us persist in our calling to the last breath.

The Waldensian brethren are indebted to me for a crown, one part of which I lent them, and the other I paid to their messenger, who came with my brother to bring the letter from Sonerius. I requested them to pay it to you, as it will partly pay you my debt, the rest I will pay when I can. Such is my condition now, that I have not a penny. It is singular, although my expenses are so great, that I must still live upon my own money unless I would burden my brethren. It is not easy for me to take that care of my health which you recommend so affectionally. Farewell, beloved brother. The Lord give you strength and support in all your troubles.

FRANKFORT, March, 1539.

LETTER VIII.

CALVIN TO FAREL.

The day after I received your letter, the last but one, I set out for Frankfort. I omitted to answer it, as my journey was entirely unexpected. Bucer having informed me that he could accomplish nothing concerning the cause of the brethren, I immediately started for that place, lest their safety should be neglected among the croud of business to be transacted. I was also anxious to confer with Melancthon on religion, and the discipline of the Church. The entreaties of Capito and others furnished additional motives, as did also the pleasure I anticipated in the society of Sturmius and other good men who were to accompany me.——————————

————As to the advice in answer to the questions of Sonerius, I solemnly declare, that I recommended no other union to the brethren, than what is exhibited in the example of Christ, who did not hesitate to partake of the mysteries of God with the Jews, notwithstanding their deplorable impiety. They weighed my advice with caution, and were dissatisfied, that I made a difference between the Minister and the people. Of the dispenser of the ordinance, faith and prudence were required; of the people, that each one examine himself, and prove his own faith. But this will be easily explained when we have an opportunity of conversing on the subject. The evident judgments of God against those noxious spirits, who disturb the peace of the Church, afford me some pleasure mingled with my grief, for I see that these scourges were not altogether unmerited. It is however desirable, that a gracious Providence would, by some means, free his Churches from such polluted members.————You say very correctly, that their consciousness of guilt is accompanied with an anxiety to have every thing buried in the deepest obscurity, lest their own personal baseness should be detected. Perplexed with the subterfuges of the wicked, we must labour to the extent of our power, and leave the event to the infinitely wise management of God. I should be gratified in obliterating from the memory all those evils, which cannot be remedied without injury to the cause. But it would be injurious to hide, in the bowels of the Church, those bitter animosities, hatreds and doctrinal differences, whose virulence would thus be nourished, till ultimately the body would be covered with infectious ulcers. Evils of this kind must be remedied, when lenient measures fail, with a reasonable severity. But when the circumstances will admit, a middle way should be pursued, to restore the dignity of the ministry, to bring back the health of the Church, to call into exercise forbearance for small offences, and leave no necessity for intermeddling anew with evils concealed or suppressed. The irritation of some wounds is increased by applications, and their cure only effected by quietness and neglect. We find this to be the state of things at Frankfort.

From the House of Saxony, the Elector, his brother, and his grandson Maurice, are present, attended by four hundred horsemen. The Landgrave was accompanied by the same number. The Duke of Lunenburg arrived with less pomp. Others are present whose names I do not remember. The other confederates, the King of Denmark and the Duke of Prussia, and some others, sent Ambassadours. This is not strange, as it would be hazardous for them to leave their own dominions, at so great a distance, in the present confused and perilous state of affairs. All were displeased, that the Duke of Wirtemburg, at the distance only of two days travel, should prefer his hunting and other diverting sports, to consulting for the safety of his country, and perhaps of his head. He apologized indeed by others, that he was not afraid to entrust the whole care to those whom he knew to be greatly interested in the issue of the business. Men of the first distinction were delegates from the cities.

In the first session, war was decreed by a unanimous suffrage of the Assembly. At this time, two Electors, the Count Palatine, and Joachim of Brandenburg, with the Spanish Ambassadour, Vesalis, the Bishop of Lunden, came into the Convention. They first opened the mandate of the Emperour, which authorized them to make peace, or agree upon a truce, with us, on such conditions as they should judge best. With laboured harangues, and accumulated arguments, they endeavoured to persuade us to yield to terms of pacification. The point which they urged most strenuously, and on which they felt our influence most sensibly, was, that the *Grand Turk*, would prosecute his warlike measures with more vigour, in proportion as he saw Germany distracted with intestine wars: that having possessed himself of *Wallachia*, he held by treaty from the Poles, the right of a free passage through their dominions, and of course he was now threatening the territories of the Emperour with invasion. They moved us to draw up the conditions of a peace; and if this could not be effected, they were anxious that a truce should be established. We made no question of their sincerity and good faith. For Joachim was favourable to the cause of the Gospel, and the Palatine was by no means unfriendly to its success. But as our confidence did not repose with ease on the mandates of Vesalis the Spaniard, we preferred that the affair should be arranged by the Electors, who exercised the supreme authority in the Empire. This was opposed by the Elector of Saxony, who, for various reasons, entertained an implacable aversion to the Elector of Mentz, and who, being uncle to Joachim, dared not consent to an Assembly from which his relative was excluded. Our advocates therefore, after stating the injuries they had received, and the causes which had forced them, unwillingly, into a war, proposed the conditions of peace. These conditions asserted the right of government over their own Churches, the authority of appointing their own Ministers, and of securing to those who united with them the privileges of their league. After these articles were presented, we left Frankfort. Bucer has since informed me, that the two Imperial Electors granted us something more than the Spaniard was willing to sanction. The reason of this arose from the necessity the Emperour was under, of courting the assistance of the Papists against the Turks, as well as ours; so he endeavoured to please both parties without giving offence to either. At the close, he required that, when the present state of affairs should be changed, the learned and pious, who were disposed for union, should assemble and agree upon the articles of religion which were now in controversy; and that the whole business should then be referred to a Diet of the Empire, in which all the controversies of the several branches of the German reformed Churches should be closed. This Ambassadour proposed, for the arrangement of these matters, a truce for one year. Our members are not satisfied with the shortness of the time, nor the uncertainty of the issue. Every thing thus remains in suspense; and unless the Emperour makes farther proposals, the continuance of war seems inevitable.——————

The petition from Henry VIII. requested that an Ambassadour, accompanied by Philip Melancthon, should be sent to assist in the more secure and correct establishment of the English Church. The Princes had no hesitation about sending an Ambassadour; but were unwilling to send Melancthon, suspecting that he was too yielding and irresolute. He is, however, neither ignorant nor dissembling in the opinions which he forms; and he even solemnly affirmed to me that their fears were unfounded.

I believe I know him perfectly; and I should as confidently trust him as Bucer, when he has to manage with men who wish to secure to themselves ample room for the indulgence of their vices. Bucer is so zealous in spreading the Gospel, that, contented with conformity to the principal points, he too carelessly gives up those smaller ones, which may have an extensive influence in their consequences. Henry himself is, in fact, but half instructed. He prohibits the marriage of Bishops and Priests, under the severe penalty of being deprived of the power and privileges of their office; retains the daily masses; would preserve the seven sacraments; and thus have a Gospel mutilated and dismembered, and a Church filled with many vanities. He moreover manifests the established mark of a weak head, by refusing the translation of the scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and proceeding to prohibit, by a new edict, the reading of them by the common people. And to put the matter beyond a question, that he is not in jest, he has, to the grief of all the pious, lately caused an honest and learned man to be burnt at the stake for denying the real presence of the flesh of Christ in the sacramental bread.

The Princes of the Empire, though generally incensed with such cruelties, will not relinquish the embassy, out of regard to the cause of religion, and its progress and security in that kingdom.————————The death of the son of Prince George, who had been confined on account of insanity, took place while the Convention was sitting at Frankfort. His successour will doubtless be Maurice, whom I named among the confederates; and of course the possessions of George will be soon added to support the little flock of Christ. So uncertain are the events which may change extensively the present face of affairs. Our confidence is in God, and our duty is to pray fervently, that he would grant a favourable issue to the present confused and perplexed state of things. My success in the cause of the brethren, and the subjects of my conference with Philip, you will learn more minutely from Michael. My letter is unfinished, but the messenger will not tarry. Farewell, beloved brother. Salute Thomas and all the brethren from me. Capito and Sturmius salute you.

Yours, &c. JOHN CALVIN.
March 16, 1539.

LETTER IX.

Calvin to Farel.

I do not remember a day, in the course of this year, in which I have been so overwhelmed with a croud of business. When the messenger called for my book, I had twenty sheets to revise,—to preach,—to read to the congregation,—to write four letters,—to attend to some controversies,—and to answer more than ten persons, who interrupted me for advice. Excuse me,—I write briefly, and not very accurately about any thing. The deliberations of the Convention at Frankfort, we shall know correctly when Bucer returns. From his letters he may be expected in about seven days. He writes me, that the Princes are uncommonly decisive in defending the Gospel. At Smalkald, they displayed, in a small affair, the resolution with which they are inspired, by tearing down some impure images with their altars, and abolishing the *Elevation* in the Lord's Supper. Silence becomes those who, with such oscitancy, have been dreaming of an undefined moderation. I just afford you a taste, that you may understand how removed they are from trepidation. Our Senate has proved itself to be animated with a determined spirit, by committing to prison the Superior of a Nunnery, who squandered away the property of the Convent. An officer of the Empire, at the request of the Bishop, ordered her to be released. The confederate Princes sanctioned the conduct of the Senate, and declared that they would take the case under their own cognizance. A messenger was sent to the officer of the Empire, informing him, that the Senate would not respect his judgment, whatever it might be. We expect them, of course, to hurl their innocuous thunder.————I cannot say any more.

Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

April 20, 1539.

LETTER X.

CALVIN TO FAREL.

————In my late interview with Melancthon, I did not disguise my displeasure at the multitude of ceremonies, which renders their form of worship not very different from Judaism. He refused to contend against my reasoning, and admitted that they retained too many foolish or at least useless ceremonies. But he pleaded as an excuse the necessity they were under of yielding to the obstinacy of the Canons of Wittemberg; but said, that there was no other city in Saxony so loaded with this burden, and that they should by degrees be delivered from the weight of this medley. He added, that Luther was as far from approbating the ceremonies, which he retained, as he was from commending our unreservedness in their rejection. I wish our friend N—— could become acquainted with the sincerity of Melancthon; it would divest him of all his suspicions about his integrity. It does not follow, because Bucer formerly defended the ceremonies of Luther, that he wishes or attempts to establish them. Nothing could persuade him to approve of singing in Latin. He abhors images. Some things he despises, and cares nothing about others. If these things are once banished from the service of the Church, they will never again be permitted to re-pass her threshhold. He disapproves of the separation between us and Luther, on account of those little external observances. Nor do I account them a just cause of separation. The German league has nothing in it which ought to offend a pious heart. Why, I ask, should they not combine the strength which the Lord has given them, for the common defence of the Gospel? They do not draw any one into their society by force, nor any other restraint. Those cities, which excel in their attachment to evangelical truth, were the most in favour of the agreement with the Papists and their Bishops at Nuremberg. I wish N—— knew what arts were made use of in the late Convention, and with what obstinacy they were resisted. The Ambassadour of the Emperour exerted all his influence, to draw them off from the Helvetick Churches. He did not name them, but he demanded that they should not take up the cause of the Sacramentarians. They answered, that they were in brotherly communion with those whom he called Sacramentarians. How much resolution they manifested in their last defence! The Emperour imposed the rule, that during the truce they should receive no one into the league. They consented, but with this condition; that if any should receive the Gospel, they should be safe, although not members of the agreement. And if they were attacked, they declared that they would defend all those as brethren, who supported the cause of Christ. They, in their turn, required of the Emperour, that no combinations should be formed, during that period, against the Gospel. The Emperour wished the Priests should enjoy the ecclesiastical revenues till the end of the truce. The confederates consented, on condition that they supported the Churches and the Schools; and in this they persisted to the last. Why should I relate the distinguished fortitude of this city? When the conditions of the Emperour were produced in the Convention, demanding that all leagues formed after the Diet of Nuremberg* should be declared void, that we should not enter into any new ones, and that both parties should remain unmolested, until a conference should be held for reforming the German Church; a decree of the Senate was immediately issued, declaring, That they would see their children and their wives butchered in their sight, their property and privileges destroyed, the city rased to the ground, and themselves subjected to a massacre, before they would submit to measures, which would destroy the progress of the Gospel of Christ. My Farel, consider how unjust we should be to such men to remain idle, and censure those who, with a resolution worthy of their cause, will not be driven from the line of duty by any dangers or terrors which may threaten their destruction. Affairs are doubtless verging to a battle. Indeed an attack has been made in the suburbs of Lunenburg.———It is our duty, you say, to avoid giving offence to good men—I grant it—but it is equally their duty to avoid taking offence too rashly and without reason.————————

Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

April, 1539.

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* In 1532.

LETTER XI.

CALVIN TO FAREL.

We have at length returned home, after an absence of almost three months. Our delay was occasioned by our adversaries, who constantly were devising new artifices to delude us by spinning out the time. When the Emperour was said to be approaching, we supposed that they would have a good pretext for their own justification. For during the whole period they had eluded any conference by the most impudent shufflings; and why did they not pretend that they could have no consultation, since the Emperour was now going to Ratisbon to hold the Diet?* But when all were preparing to depart, they unexpectedly gave us an opportunity for a conference. They were perhaps apprehensive, that they could not escape the accusation of dishonesty, if they did not commence, at least in appearance, when we had submitted to all their obtrusive conditions. For they had spent a whole month in proposing absurdities for our admission, expecting that by our refusal, they should have an ostensible reason for accusing us with having prevented the conference. By our patience, we frustrated all their expectations, by yielding to every condition which did not materially affect injuriously the cause of truth. At length the colloquy was opened. Eckius, being chosen by our adversaries for their advocate, commenced with a speech of two hours. Melancthon answered more concisely. After dinner, Eckius again proceeded boisterously. On the following day, Philip answered him with great moderation. Eckius spoke again after dinner. The judges then pronounced, that they had disputed long enough about that article.* To the injustice of this sentence we objected, that it was intolerable that our adversaries should both open and close the debate. But Granville persisted in his sentence with the inflexible obstinacy of an Areopagite. Permission was obtained, for our advocate to speak again, on condition, however, that our adversaries should close the dispute. On the following day, Philip closed his argument, and Eckius, with more moderation than usual, ended the debate. I will not attempt to describe the monkish fastidiosity, the great audacity, insolence and impudence, with which this ostentatious man vociferated. Imagine to yourself a barbarous sophist, exulting foolishly among his illiterate companions, and you will have the half of Eckius.—————Granville, having assembled the Diet, read the Emperour's letter by which it was dissolved; and the promise was given, that he would examine the unfinished business at Ratisbon. Some of the Divines were ordered to repair to that city. The Senate has ordered me to join Bucer. Melancthon obtained this by particular application. I mention this, that you need not suspect me of endeavouring to be absent, to avoid any application from Geneva. When he took leave of our Ambassadour, he so earnestly entreated him to have me sent with Bucer, that I was quite put to the blush; and when I expostulated with him, he answered me, that he had the best of reasons, and that my excuses would not prevent his urging them, and insisting that I should be brought to that Diet. Just before they offered us a conference, Gryneus,

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* The Conference at Worms was appointed to be opened on the 28th of October 1540. From this time, nothing was effected till the 13th of January, 1541. On this day, they agreed upon a colloquy. This was after the Emperour, by Granville his Prime Minister, had published his determination to hold a Diet at Ratisbon in March.

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* The dispute commenced upon *the doctrine of original sin*. Eckius and Melancthon were the only collocutors appointed. On the third day, Granville dismissed the conference. Dupin.

Sturmius and myself, having requested permission to return home, we packed up our things, and went to take leave of our friends. When we came to Philip, he said, "The others may go, but I will not suffer Calvin to go at this time"; and immediately ran to the house to prevent my departure. You see that my appointment was not of my own procurement. But I am foolish in attempting to wipe off a suspicion which probably never entered your mind, and which you would not foster if it did. On my return home, I had a great deal of business with Claudius.——————— My situation is uncertain. I shall be obliged to leave my domestick affairs unsettled, and be absent as much as six or eight months. I need not mention how injurious to my personal interest my absence from this place must be. This is the reason that my salary is not augmented. That which is now paid me scarcely yields me and my family a support for eight months. But I do not complain, as I must impute it to myself. I will write you again before I leave home. Farewell, my beloved brother. Salute all the brethren affectionately.

STRASBURG, January 28, 1541.

LETTER XII.

JAMES BERNARD TO CALVIN.

My venerable Father, That I did not write you by Lewis du Four, the Genevese Ambassadour, was neither from indifference for you, nor regret at your reinstatement as the Pastor of this Church. I was absent at Lausanne, to consult with Peter Viret about matters that related to our Church. It is indeed a high gratification to me, that you are acknowledged by our brethren as their good and faithful Pastor; and especially as I know this to be effected by the influence of the Holy Spirit. On the Lord's day, at our Church at Rippa, I found the house almost deprived of its Pastors. Morentus and Marcutius, who had the care of it, had departed, and Henry alone was with me. But what were we in governing so great a congregation? Beholding the people all in tears, I admonished them to turn unto the Lord their God, and supplicate of him, who was the Pastor of Pastors, a Pastor whom he would bless to the prosperity of his Church. I did not indeed think of you, having given up all hopes of your return. The people followed my advice with great devotion. The next day, the Council of two hundred convened and called for Calvin. The following day, a general meeting assembled. All exclaimed, We demand the return of Calvin, the honest man, the learned Minister of Christ. When I heard this I praised God, who had done what was marvellous in our eyes, in making *the stone which the builders rejected become the head of the corner.* Come then, my venerable father in Christ. All sigh after you. Your estimation in the hearts of this people will be testified by their affectionate reception of you. You will find me not an opposer, according to the representations of some, (may God forgive them,) but a faithful and sincere friend, devoted to your wishes in the Lord. Come then to Geneva, to a people renovated, by the grace of God, through the labours of Viret; and may the Lord hasten your return to our Church, whose blood he will require at your hands, for he has set you a watchman unto the house of our Israel. Farewell.

BERNARD.

GENEVA, February 6, 1541.

LETTER XIII.

JOHN CALVIN TO JAMES BERNARD, a brother and Minister, in the dispensation of the word, in the Church of Geneva.

Your letter was handed me at the moment I was prepared to enter on my journey. You will therefore excuse me, should my answer be later than you expected; and should it be short and incorrect, as I write in haste on my way. Your urgent request, that I should undertake the government of the Church of Geneva, I doubt not, is made in good faith, and with the best disposition, as you judge that its order cannot otherwise be restored, than by the assistance of those, whose departure occasioned it so severe afflictions. This argument, which you so studiously use, always had much weight on my mind. It was indeed because I feared that I should resist the will of God, that I dared not reject that vocation. My conscience now holds me bound in the calling which I now sustain, nor will it easily permit me to leave it. After that calamity, my ministry appeared to me unhappy and unpropitious, and I wholly determined with myself, that I never would undertake the ministerial office, unless the Lord himself should call me with a clear voice, that is, unless such a necessity fell upon me as I could not overcome. The Strasburgese perseveringly used every means to drive me from this determination in which I persisted, till at length they succeeded. But they did not break my purpose in the first attack. When they perceived that they could not overcome by repeated arguments, they at last threatened me, that I could no more escape, by evasion, the hand of God, than Jonah formerly did by his flight. It is not therefore strange that I should not lightly leave that station in which the Lord has placed me. I am not, however, so fixed in this place, but that I am prepared, at the same time, to remove as often as it shall be determined by the judgment of the Church. But I shall not remove without a lawful order; and this was the reason why I referred the whole business to the judgment of the Church. My brethren and colleagues, whom for their merit I respect in the Lord, and whose authority I esteem not otherwise than that of parents, incline rather to this course, that I with Bucer should go to Geneva, and after ascertaining the state of the Church, should determine what the good of the cause requires. But this we can by no means immediately accomplish, as we are now on our way to the Diet of Ratisbon. As soon as we return home, you need not doubt but that the subject will receive our attention. The beginning of this business you know always justly displeased me. And from the first unfavourable entrance upon it, I expected no good, unless, as I have always besought the Lord, he should make you and your colleagues faithful Ministers to himself. In the mean time, many things are reported, which I am not pleased to believe, nor permitted to deny. It is with great grief I have heard those things, which I foresaw would tend to the disgrace of the sacred ministry. I have heard Farel and Coraud as well as myself are so unkindly treated, that it affects and wounds my mind with painful feelings. I confess for myself, that I hold Farel and Coraud in so high estimation for their piety, learning and integrity, that I cannot hear them reproached with indifference. I do not dissemble, that you may understand that I treat with you candidly and frankly on this subject. But since you discover an excellent mind in your letter, I congratulate you, trusting that your inward thoughts correspond with your words. From me, in my turn, you may fully expect, what I certainly engage, all that is to be expected, first from a man who loves peace and hates contention; secondly, from a friend most studious of your welfare; and lastly, from one who is ready to forgive offences. In the mean time, I call you to witness, by the name of God, and by his tremendous judgment, that you should remember that all your transactions are with him, who will hereafter, with the severest scrutiny, demand a reason for all your conduct; and who will not suffer himself to be satisfied with words and trifling excuses. Therefore, consider seriously with yourself, that as you are engaged in a calling the most exalted of all, so it is fraught with the greatest danger, unless you apply yourself to your office with integrity of heart and the highest diligence. If you desire my approbation, I declare before hand, that I ask nothing but that you render a faithful and sincere service to the Lord. Farewell, my dear brother. May the Lord Jesus prepare and strengthen you by his Spirit to every good work. Salute, I pray you, all the pious in my name.

Ulm, March 1, 1541.

LETTER XIV.

Calvin to Viret.

When your letters were handed me, I was prepared for my journey, and in the course of my life I do not remember one more tumultuous. I now catch a moment at Ulm, to answer you in a brief and confused manner. A traveller in a tavern has not much time to meditate, and properly arrange what he writes. Your letter, if I correctly remember, is divided into two parts—In the first, you would prove that the Church at Geneva should not be abandoned. In the second, you contend that I ought to hasten my return, lest Satan should take advantage of my dilatoriness, and throw some impediment in the way. To this I answer, as I have always done, that there is no place on earth, I so much dread as Geneva; not because I bear any hatred to them, but because I see so many difficulties in my way, which I am very far from being able to surmount. When I call to mind the events of times past, I cannot help shuddering at the thought of being obliged to throw myself afresh into the midst of those former contentions. If my business was to be with the Church only, my mind would be more easy; at least I should feel less dread. But you must understand much more than I can write. Take in a word, that I know, by various channels, that he, who can most injure me, bears still an implacable hatred against me. When I consider the numerous ways which lie open to him for doing evil, how many instruments are prepared for exciting the flames of contention, and how many occasions will present themselves to him, against which I can by no foresight provide, I am wholly disheartened. Many other things in that city give me no small anxiety. As I progress in experience, I am more sensible of the arduous office of governing a Church. I am not, however, unwilling or unprepared, as far as I understand my ability, to afford any assistance to that unhappy Church. These thoughts disturb and perplex my mind with delaying anxieties; but their influence will not prevent me from doing every thing which I may judge to be for its welfare. Farel is my witness, that I have never uttered a word against their calling me to return; I only entreated him that he would not, by officiousness, lose a second time that Church already in ruins. I have given sufficient proof, that nothing is more conformable to my wishes, than to give up my life in the discharge of my duty. I do not dissemble when I say this. When the Genevese Ambassadours came to Worms, I entreated our friends with tears, that, omitting all consideration of me, they should consult, in the presence of God, what would be most beneficial to the Church, which implored their assistance. When we came to the house, although no one urged this question, I did not cease to importune them with my prayers, to consider seriously upon this subject; and they were not wanting in their duty. As we suspected, they almost immediately decreed, that I should be united with Bucer. But I declare to you, as I did to Farel, that this was not fairly settled; for it was determined before we returned from the Convention of Worms, by the influence of those who least consulted the good of Geneva. If you consult me, I see no reason why I should be sent on this mission to Ratisbon; but being appointed, I could not refuse, unless I wished to hear myself every where abused. When I received your letters, I was not at liberty to deliberate. I have stated the fact as my excuse. You have now an answer to both your enquiries. I never have, I never can refuse to go to Geneva; and I promise you, that my resolution shall not be changed, unless some more powerful obstacle closes up the way. I am charged with the care of that Church; and I know not how it is, but I feel myself more inclined to take the government of it, if indeed the circumstances demand it as my duty. It is agreed, that after our return from Ratisbon, I should go to Geneva with Bucer. We will then consult what will be most expedient, under the existing circumstances, for the re-establishment of a Pastor, and the renovation of the whole Church. The decision will have more influence, and the operation will be more effectual, as we shall have present those from whom we have most to fear afterwards. When the business is once settled, they will be bound by their own judgment, and prevented from exclaiming against its operation; and also from exciting others to disturb the established order. In the mean time, my brother, I entreat you for Christ's sake, to be of good courage. The more uncertain our continuance is in this life, the less we should be troubled about the delay of those events which we earnestly desire. There are many things I know, which must cause you trouble and anxiety; but consider that these are trials appointed of the Lord, to support you till his coming. The day before I received your letters, I wrote to the Senate of Geneva, excusing my delay in coming to them; and I doubt not but my excuse has been accepted. Farewell, my beloved brother. Salute, in my name, all who are devoted to the truth. May the Spirit of the Lord strengthen you for all good works.

Ulm, March 1, 1541.

LETTER XV.

Calvin to Farel.

I have not written you since I arrived, but I requested my friend Claudius to forward to you whatever he might receive from me. While waiting for a letter from you, I have been informed of a severe calamity; that Claudius, whom I so greatly loved, is removed by the plague; that Lewis, the brother of Charles, died three days afterwards; that my family was unhappily scattered; that my brother had retired with Cardus to a neighbouring village; that my wife had taken refuge at her brother's house; and that the youngest of the students of Claudius was confined to his bed. The bitterness of my grief is augmented with anxiety and solicitude for those who survive. Night and day, I imagine my wife before me, deprived of her reason, and calling for her husband. The afflictions of the amiable and affectionate Charles sorely distress me. In four days he was deprived of an only brother, and of a Preceptor whom he treated as a father. When I think of Malherbe, my mind calls to view the excellent young men who attended him. Under the weight of all these sorrows, it is incredible how much I mourn the death of my dear Claudius. Nor will you be surprised at my depression, as you know how much, for these two years, I have needed a sure and faithful friend, to support me under a multitude of weighty troubles. He conducted himself in so faithful and so obliging a manner, that I treated him with all the familiarity of a brother. When, in suspense of mind, I lately deputed him, he solemnly pledged himself, that he would go wherever I should direct, and that he would never forsake me. When I consider how much occasion I have for a good counsellour, always at hand, and how rarely, in this age, we meet with an example of so much benevolence and fidelity, I cannot but consider his removal as a chastisement of the Lord, to call my sins to remembrance.

The Emperour has been expecting the arrival of the Princes. The two Electors of Bavaria, and the Duke of Brunswick, the robber, the disgrace and the destroyer of his country, were present at the first moment. The Ambassadours arrived successively, and the following Princes: Frederick the Palatine, the brother of the Elector, Otho his grandson, the younger Count of Wirtemberg, the Landgrave, Albert of Baden, the Prince of Anhalt, and the Elector of Mentz. The Elector of Brandenburg is on his way. The Emperour will persist in his solicitations till they all attend. The Elector of Saxony offered a good reason for his absence by his Ambassadours. The two cities of Goslar and Brunswick, which Henry vexed with depredations and robberies, under the pretext of the imperial ban,* the confederates lately decreed to defend by their united arms.

The Emperour, fearing the issue, has suspended his decrees, and annulled his sentences against us, until he can take cognizance of the whole business before the Diet. And to remove all obstructions, he published his edict, expressly commanding him to restore all that he had seized, and to abstain from farther depredations. He promised obedience, but still proceeds as before, perhaps you will say, in collusion with the Emperour. However this may be, the Elector of Saxony cannot desert his allies in such a pressure of danger; he therefore remains on the watch, promptly to oppose the attempts of Henry. As soon as the decrees were suspended, Henry was summoned to hear the imperial ban, by which he was stripped of his privileges, and exposed himself to depredation. In a few days after, we received the same summons. The Emperour, I know not with what sincerity, solemnly declared, that he was very highly displeased at these things, and would use his endeavours that it should all evaporate in smoke. But this decree exposes us to imminent danger. Should they proclaim it to-morrow, we cannot move a foot from this place but at the hazard of our heads. It escaped me to mention, that the Duke of Savoy has presented himself here to bind the faith of the Empire to assist him in the recovery of his dominions, which, when he held, would not add to the Empire. He is too late, therefore. But the King of France has sent the advocate Raymond, who asks to be received into the confidence and protection of the Empire, for the Dutchy of Savoy. Many most splendid embassies have arrived from foreign nations. Cardinal Contarinus, the Legate of the Pope, on his entering the town, scattered over us so many signs of the cross, that his arm, I apprehend, did not recover in two days from the painful labour. The Bishop of Modena was sent as a special Nuncio. Contarinus would have us submit without bloodshed, and labours by all means to complete the business without having recourse to arms. The Nuncio is for bloodshed, and has nothing but war in his mouth. Both agree in cutting off all hopes of amicable discussion. The

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* Sometimes cities were put under the imperial ban, that is, stripped of their rights and privileges; a sentence of war or proscription being proclaimed against them till they made satisfaction.

Venetian Ambassadour is a man of great pomp and parade. The English, besides the resident Minister, have sent the Bishop of Winchester with a splendid retinue, a man too maliciously cunning. The Ambassadours of Portugal, and several others, I omit to name. The King of France has sent Velius, an importunate blockhead. In mentioning the Princes, I passed over all the dregs of the order of Pfaci, excepting John Pfaf, Elector of Mentz. The Bishops assembled in great numbers,—the Bishops of Ratisbon, Augsburg, Spires, Bremen, Saltzburg, Brescia, Worms, Bamberg, Hildesheim, and some others.————It would be in vain to conjecture what will be the result of this Diet. The minds of the confederates were enraged against Henry of Brunswick, who persecutes them with his infamous libels. They petitioned the Emperour to discard him as a calumniator, if they should prove that he had attacked their reputation by the most impudent lies. I see no method for the settlement of this matter, unless it is carried before the imperial Chamber;* for the Landgrave has refused to submit this controversy to the decision of the Emperour as Umpire. Although this is not the main business, it will disturb the commencement of the Diet, and may possibly extensively affect us in the result.

The Emperour, convinced of the present confusion of his affairs, will not willingly excite new troubles for himself. An expected attack from the Turks awakens his fears. With the King of France, he has a doubtful peace, with the hazard of war in the issue. Various rumours are circulating about the Grand Turk. That Hungarian Monk, who, after the death of King John, had taken the guardianship of the Prince, jealous of Ferdinand, sought assistance from the Turk;

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* A tribunal composed of judges named partly by the Emperour, and partly by the States, and vested with the power to decide finally all differences among the members of the Germanic body. Rees' Cy.

he sent only a few troops to his aid, which however attacked Pest, a city in the possession of Ferdinand, on the Danube, opposite Buda. An army was levied to force them to raise the seige. And now some report, that the Turk, having made great preparations, is advancing with a large army; others say that these preparations were made to quell domestick disturbances. We shall soon ascertain the object, for it must be something of weight to detain him from attacking the Walachians. These people revolted from those tyrants into whose power they had delivered themselves. The Palatine of their own, the pupil of the Turk, was placed over them. Wearied with his cruelties, they preferred the most hazardous attempts for deliverance, to the bondage of his dominion. Having killed the Palatine last winter, they destroyed every thing which belonged to the Turk; and having chosen a new leader, whom they obliged to swear eternal enmity to the Turk, they took the strongly fortified citadel, which had been built with wonderful expedition, near the frontiers of Poland. If he leaves this insult unrevenged, he must be occupied elsewhere. I hope this may be the case, that while he is healing his wounds we may have some leisure to collect our forces and arrange our affairs. The King of Poland may greatly assist his neighbours, unless his dominions are molested by the Tartars, who the last winter made an irruption, and ravaging his territories, attempted to proceed farther. However this may be, the Emperour wishes to put the affairs of Germany into a more composed state, until he has extricated himself from these perplexities; and will not excite any troubles at this time, unless driven to it by the pressing importunity of our enemies. The confederates are desirous of having an audience; and if they can hope for no confidence or lasting peace, until there is an agreement in religious matters, and the Churches established in order, they will urge the imperial Chamber to consider this subject with care and attention. They are anxious that all dissensions should be ended without tumult, and detesting war as the certain ruin of this country, they shew themselves the decided enemies of all violent measures.

Our opponents are divided into three parties. The first are for proclaiming war, and openly raved because it was not commenced the first day. Of this class, the leaders are the Elector of Mentz, the Bavarian Dukes, Henry of Brunswick, and his brother the Bishop of Bremen. The second class wish to consult the good of their country, whose ruin or devastation they foresee will be the calamitous effect of war, and they of course exert all their powers to effect a peace of any kind without a settlement of religion. The third would willingly admit a tolerable correction of ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline, but being either deficient in the knowledge of the truth, or in fortitude to avow themselves abettors of these opinions, they go forward apparently seeking only the publick tranquillity. Among this class are the Bishop of Cologne and the Bishop of Augsburg among the Ecclesiasticks; both of the brothers of the Palatine, Otho, their grandson, and perhaps the Duke of Cleves, among the Princes. Those are the small number who are endeavouring to excite tumults, and being opposed by all the good, they cannot effect their wishes. The mind of the Emperour is entirely inclined to peace, and to obtain it he will contend with all his strength, putting off his care for the cause of religion to some future time. The confederates will not easily yield to this, but persist in demanding the reformation of the Church. We hope to effect something.

The Pope's Legate, with his usual solemnity, entreats us not to determine on violent measures; but violent measures, in his view, are any discussions about religion, or any consultation concerning the reformation of the Church, held without the authority of his master. They openly profess to encourage the diet which we ask, and still secretly oppose its appointment by great promises and high threats. Contarinus professes to wish that we might be subdued without bloodshed; but if this cannot be done, and the Emperour will have recourse to arms, they are prepared to furnish him with large sums of money. While at the same time, if he yields to any measure disagreeable to the Romish tyrant, they threaten him with those thunders with which they are accustomed to shake the whole earth. The state of things in Italy makes the Emperour anxious for his power. If he can, he will therefore take refuge there, in order, without meddling with religion, to place Germany in a more composed state, by a temporary peace, or a truce for a few years. In this he will be opposed. Thus you see that affairs are in such obscurity, that there is no place for probable conjecture. In these perplexities, let us invoke the name of the Lord, and beseech him to govern, by his wisdom, this great and weighty cause; so deeply interesting to his glory and the safety of his Church; and to manifest, in this crisis, that nothing is more precious in his sight, than that celestial wisdom which he has revealed to us in the Gospel, and those souls which he has redeemed by the sacred blood of his Son. In proportion as all things are uncertain, we must stir up our minds with the more assiduous zeal in our supplications. Casting our views over the whole progress of our affairs, we find that the Lord has governed events in a wonderful manner, without the aid or the counsels of men; and made them prosperous beyond all our most sanguine hopes. In these difficulties, let us rest entirely on that wisdom and power which he has so often displayed in our protection. One circumstance terrifies me, that our friends are in so great security; with this I am struck with consternation, to see that new offences are daily committed as the εντηδυγαμια or rather δυσγαμια. I am not however entirely discouraged. I have lately received, a letter from Viret, which I answered briefly, that it was not convenient to deliberate on that subject at present. I wish, my Farel, that I could depart from this place to-morrow, but what shall I do? I am bound here, and fear I shall pine away with tediousness and disgust. Farewell, dear brother. Salute, in my name, all the brethren, Thomas and Michael, who will be greatly afflicted at the contents of this letter, and Cordier, my old Preceptor, and the rest.

Ratisbon, March 28, 1541.

LETTER XVI.

Luther to Melancthon.

My dear Philip, I have just received your last letter.—I am grieved that your influence, so favourable to the cause of truth, should be in any degree diminished; but my confidence rests on the extent neither of your powers nor my own. Our affairs are managed, not by chance, but by the established counsel of the living God, who does not indeed always direct events in a manner the most agreeable to our wishes. The word is progressing, prayer is fervent, hope is animated, faith overcomes, and thus we are compelled to be submissive; and were we not in the body, we might take our ease, and rejoice in festivity, remembering the command of Moses—*Hold ye your peace, the Lord shall fight for you.* For although we may be anxious to determine, to say and do every thing with the most vigilant circumspection in another manner, yet if *the Lord does not fight*, we shall watch in vain; if he fights, we shall not sleep in vain. It is certain that the Lord fights for Israel, and is descending slowly, and with measured step, from his throne, to accomplish his long expected counsel. There are very many signs, which impress me with this persuasion. Things are safe in your houses, thanks to be to God. Do not fear, be joyful and of good courage, anxious for nothing. The Lord is at hand. Let the Henries, the Bishops, the Turks, and Satan himself do what they can. We are the sons of the kingdom, who worship and wait on the Saviour, who is continually spit on and crucified by these Henries.

April 22, 1541.

LETTER XVII.

Calvin to Farel.

It is painful on many accounts to be here; but in extending my view over the whole business, I shall never repent of having come. You may think that I trifle, but I understand perfectly well what I say. And you will know, when we have the pleasure of an interview, that I have a good reason for my assertion. Now give attention, and collect as much as you can from my narration.*

Our advocates passed from the subject of original sin, without difficulty. The disputation on free will followed, and was amicably settled, according to the opinion of Augustine. This harmony was somewhat interrupted by the contention about the meritorious cause of justification. At length, a formula was presented; and, after passing through various corrections on both sides, it was admitted. It will doubtless surprise you, that our adversaries made concessions so extensively favourable to our cause. I enclose a copy of the formula. The confederates have retained the principal doctrines of divine truth, and nothing was admitted into this formula contradictory to the scriptures. You will, without question, desire a more full explanation, and in this respect we shall be perfectly agreed. But a moment's reflection, upon the characters of the persons with whom we have to transact this business, will convince you, that we have effected much beyond our expectations. In the definition of the Church, the advocates were agreed;* but an extensive and unyielding controversy arose about the government; and the article, by mutual consent, was omitted. On the sacraments, they had some warm contention; but when ours admitted, that the ceremonies were a medium, they proceeded to the Supper. This was an insurmountable rock. Changing the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ, replacing the host, carrying it about, and other superstitious practices, were rejected. This was considered, by the Romish advocates, as an insufferable step. Bucer, my colleague, being wholly bent on unity, was incensed that these controverted questions were moved so prematurely. Melancthon was inclined to the opinion, that all hope of pacification should be cut off, about things so entirely corrupt. Our advocates, having assembled us for consultation, demanded our individual opinions. We were unanimous, in our judgment, that transubstantiation was a mere fiction; that laying up the host was superstitious; and that the worship paid to it was idolatry, or at least very pernicious, as it was not warranted by the word of God. I was requested to give my opinion in Latin, and although I understood not the opinions of the others, I freely, and without fear of giving offence, condemned the doctrine of the *local presence*, and declared that the worshipping of the host was intolerable. Believe me, in such cases, determined and resolute minds have a very great influence in establishing the opinions of others. Cease not to pray to God to support us with the spirit of fortitude. Melancthon drew up a writing, which being presented to Granville, was rejected with abusive language, which our three advocates announced to us. If, at the very commencement of the discussion, we have to encounter such difficulties, what an accumulation of them still remains to interrupt our progress, through the examination of the private mass, the sacrifice and communication of the cup? What obstacles will lie across our way when we come to the open profession of the real presence? What tumults will then be raised? Your letters were delivered to me by Plumarius, a month after they were written. I expect to receive others shortly. The safety of the brethren is in my view a matter of great anxiety, but the obstacles I have mentioned still prevent our success. Maurus has been commissioned on that business, and is still labouring to unloose that knot. We have increased reason to animate our hopes. The Landgrave, being disappointed in his sanguine expectations of success, in obtaining assistance from others, will now turn his attention to us. If this takes place, he will most resolutely espouse our cause; and Maurus, being a pious and determined man, will exert his whole strength in our favour. He has hitherto behaved himself with fidelity. Nothing, however, has yet been obtained, but that our brethren should, upon acquitting themselves by oath before the Bishop, be permitted to return home unmolested. N—— is very troublesome to us. May the Lord remove him, or amend him. Salute the brethren. Philip and Bucer salute you. On the day before yesterday, when we dined with the Landgrave, friendly mention was made of you.

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* The first session of the Diet was held April 5th, 1541.

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* The advocates to manage the business in the Diet, appointed by the Emperour, were for the Catholicks, Julius Pflugius, John Eckius and John Gropher—for the confederates, Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer and John Pistorius. Dupin, 16th cent. book 2, p. 162.

Ratisbon, May 11, 1541.

LETTER XVIII.

CALVIN TO FAREL.

The messenger having delayed his departure a day longer than I expected, I write again, to mention some things which have taken place, and which may be interesting to you. Granville, although he had destroyed by his answer all hope of agreement, when he heard of the apoplexy of Eckius, whose importunity he perhaps supposed had prevented the agreement, commanded that Pistorius should also be excluded, and that the other four should proceed in their consultations without witnesses. As far as I could understand, our advocates might have easily accomplished the business, if we would have been contented to be half Christians. Philip and Bucer framed an ambiguous and deceptive confession concerning transubstantiation, endeavouring, as far as possible, to satisfy their adversaries, without yielding any thing. I am not pleased with this method of proceeding. They however have a motive which guides them. They indulge the hope that the things will manifest themselves, whenever there shall be an opening for the true doctrines. They prefer to pass over present difficulties, regardless of the consequences of that flexible mode of expression. But in my opinion, this will be very injurious to the cause. I am persuaded, however, that they have the best interests of religion at heart, and are extremely anxious to advance the kingdom of Christ. Our advocates are decided and prompt to every thing; but in their intercourse with our opponents they are too temporizing. It grieves me, that Bucer is exciting against himself the displeasure of so many persons. Being conscious of his own integrity, he expects more security from it than circumstances will warrant. We should not be so satisfied with our purity of conscience as to throw off all regard to the opinions of our brethren. But while I lament these things with you, my Farel, suffer them, by no means, to escape from you. One thing, however, among all these evils, is very pleasant to me, that Brentius surpasses others in his opposition to the *impanated God*,* as he calls it. I will say no more, that you may be the more anxious at my return to see me. Farewell, my dear brother. Freithus, Musculus and Brentius, and all our friends, salute you. Eckius, it is said, is convalescing. The world does not yet merit deliverance from that ferocious man.

RATISBON, May 12, 1541.

LETTER XIX.

CALVIN TO FAREL.

——Since the time of our first difference on the subject of the Eucharist, we have never been able to agree upon any question. You know that our opinion was unanimous, that transubstantiation was a mere fiction, at war with the word of of God, and with the very nature of a sacrament; that worshipping the host, as being the real body and blood of Jesus Christ, is idolatry, or something very dangerous; and that preserving it is mere superstition. Our three advocates persisting in this opinion, Granville inveighed bitterly against Philip, supposing that if he could bring him to give up these points, he should have no difficulty with the others. But as Melancthon remained inflexible, he directed them to proceed to other questions. The Marquis of Brandenburg, with the knowledge of the Emperour, had privately sent one of the Princes of Anhalt, Ambassadour to Luther, hoping to obtain, on account of former disputes, something more favourable to the Papists, than what we were all determined to grant. The result of this embassy I have not learned; I presume however that Luther's answer is not unfavourable to us. There remain yet three questions concerning the Eucharist to pass under discussion, the sacrifice of the mass, private masses, and the distribution of both elements. The adversaries, having consented to abolish the publick sale and multitude of masses, retained only one daily mass in each Church. By the same concession it was agreed, that the mass should not be exposed except in a public meeting; and that exhortation should be given at the communion. They consented that the participation of the cup should be free to every one that requested it. That the mass was a sacrifice they attempted to show by sophistical expositions, and you may conjecture very well from whence they collected them. Those things were all rejected by our advocates; and Philip presented some articles on the other side of the question. They then proceeded to the confession of sins, on which point our adversaries discovered more moderation. They did not require a scrupulous enumeration of offences, but insisted upon the necessity of confession and absolution. Our advocates presented a formula in opposition to their opinions. The invocation of saints, the primacy of the Pope, and the authority of the Church, being brought up at once they could not agree. All our articles were then added to the book of Concord.* The Emperour, in the most liberal and pleasant manner, returned his thanks to the collocutors, for having faithfully performed their allotted duty. Charles then referred the result of the deliberations to the Imperial Chamber of the German States. But as nothing could be settled without the book of Concord, it was brought before that Court with all the articles which had been added. The Emperour soon repented of this submission of the business to the heads of the Empire. The Imperial Chamber however insisted, that what had been once decreed should not be revoked. While this business was proceeding, the Senate were ordered to give audience to the Ambassadours of Hungary and Austria, who humbly supplicated that assistance should be afforded them. The Emperour insisted also, that the Imperial Chamber should lay aside the consultation about religion, and turn their attention to the objects of this petition. As soon as I saw this truce was agreed to by the *Ordines*, I seized the opportunity and made my escape.—I have given you an abridgment of the history of the transactions of the Diet; the details and more secret circumstances I will relate to you at some future interview. I wish you had succeeded in obtaining Bucer's return. As to what appertains to the brethren who are suffering for the Gospel, I have not effected what I wished. The cause demanded an embassy of some weight which the times, that is, the vicious inclinations of men, will not grant. Farewell, my dearest brother.—The Lord preserve you all.

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* *Impanatum Deum*, an expression signifying the opinion of the Lutherans, concerning the Eucharist, that the body and blood of Christ are really *in*, *with* or *under* the *bread and wine* after consecration.

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* The book of Concord was, by the Emperour's order, presented to the advocates by Granville, as the ground of union: the Protestant articles and exceptions were added to it.

STRASBURG, July 1541.

LETTER XX.

CALVIN TO FAREL.

I am retained here as you wished; which may God grant to be for his glory. Viret still continues with me, nor will I suffer him by any means to be torn from me. It is your duty, and that of all the brethren, to afford me assistance, unless you wish me to be tormented and miserable, without doing any good to the cause. I reported the labours of my office to the Senate, and assured them of the impossibility of settling the Church on any permanent foundation, unless a system of discipline was adopted, such as is prescribed by the word of God, and was observed by the ancient Church. I treated upon certain points, which might sufficiently explain my wishes. And without entering upon the whole ground, I requested them to appoint some members who might confer with us on the subject. They chose a committee of six. Articles concerning the whole polity of the Church will be drawn up, which we shall lay before the Senate. Our three colleagues pretend that they will consent to whatever Viret and myself shall judge expedient. Something will be effected. We are anxious to hear how matters progress in your Church. We hope, through the authority of the Bernese and the Biellese, that the commotions are at least allayed, if not terminated. When fighting against the Devil, under the banner of Christ, he who armed and directed you to the battle, will give you the victory. But a good cause requires a good defender; take heed, therefore, and give diligence, that those qualifications may be found in you which command the approbation of good men. We do not exhort you to preserve a pure and undefiled conscience; of this we do not doubt. But this we desire, that you would be as accommodating to the people, as your duty will allow. There are, you know, two kinds of popularity. The one is, when we obtain approbation, by our ambition and desire of pleasing; the other, when by moderation and equity, we entice the minds of others to yield themselves to us with a pleasant docility. Pardon us, if we use too much freedom with you, for on this point, we perceive that you do not fully satisfy the virtuous. If in nothing else, you transgress in this, that you do not satisfy those to whom the Lord has made you a debtor. You know how much we respect, how much we love you. This love and this respect impel us to censure you with this exact and rigid severity. We ardently desire, that those excellent gifts, which the Lord has bestowed upon you, may not be sullied by a single blemish, which may afford a handle to the carpings of malevolence, to injure your influence. I have written these things by the advice of Viret, and for this reason have used the plural number. Farewell, dearest and excellent brother.

GENEVA, 16th Sept. 1541.

LETTER XXI.

CALVIN TO FAREL.

You have no reason to feel very solicitous about my expostulation, for I had more of a disposition to rally you than to complain. I know very well, that you will not have forgotten me, although you should omit, a thousand times, to mention me in your letters. On this subject make yourself easy. —I should be pleased if a reconciliation with those who vex and weary you and your Church was as easy.

Although, as you say, we must not dread a war with the world and the flesh, but rather seek it, if we would serve Christ; yet it is desirable, that all those who carry on the war with him, should surrender themselves in willing obedience, lest being left to themselves they should be destroyed by the strength and vengeance of his arm. Since then the Lord will employ us in his warfare, and not permit us to remain idle, let us fight with fortitude and persevering courage, but with those arms alone, which he has provided for our defence. Under his benign protection, victory will always be in our power. That the Lord's Supper has been celebrated with those special admonitions, which you mention, will, I trust, present a favourable ground, for renovating the Church. I understand that your present moderation has assuaged the minds of some, and subdued others. Under this favourable influence, omit nothing which may, in any degree, have a tendency to heal the wound. It will be a glorious triumph, if Satan and his principal officers, marching in front of his standard, should be deserted by his whole army.

As to our own affairs, I find abundantly true, what you write concerning the inequality of our yoke; but I bear what I cannot remove. If Viret should be taken from me, I must wholly despair. Alone, I cannot preserve the safety of this Church. It is therefore just, that you and others should pardon me, if I remove those causes which threaten with impending danger my own security and success, by depriving me of Viret.* His continuance is of more consequence to us than you apprehend. The common people, however, treat us very obsequiously, in their steady attendance on divine service. Their external deportment is regular, but many vices still infest the heart and affect the head, which, if not gradually rooted out, I fear will break forth in dangerous sores, upon the body. You must be perfectly aware, that we cannot apply a remedy to these intestine and hidden evils without the greatest difficulty. You well know too the character of my fellow soldiers in this warfare, if Viret is removed.——If you disagree with me I will follow your advice, nor will I shrink from any of those duties which you impose upon me. While we can avail any thing, it is not for you to complain that you can do nothing, for you know that we are wholly yours. Farewell, best and beloved brother. Affectionately salute all, especially Cordier, whose letter I will soon answer. May the whole Church prosper.

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* Viret, on the application of the Genevese Church, went, by the consent of the Church at Lausanne, to supply them for six months, while Calvin was at the Diet of Ratisbon. He tarried some time after Calvin returned to Geneva, but his own Church were now anxious for his return to them.

GENEVA, Nov. 11th, 1541.

LETTER XXII.

CALVIN TO FAREL.

I was prepared to detail to you at large the state of our affairs; but when I was informed that our good father Capito, of sacred memory, was taken from us, and that Bucer was sick with the plague, my mind was so shocked that I can now only weep. You know it was always resolved, that if I returned to Geneva, you should return with me; that our united ministry might be restored. Your troubles, at that time, prevented you from leaving Neufchatel. It is now, however, the interest of our common ministry, and of the whole Church, that you should come to this city. You must do it, if for no other reason but to fulfil your promise to me. Your pretext for declining, that you was banished by the people and could not be recalled by the Senate, displeases me. You call that seditious faction of abandoned men the people; and is it not enough that the people themselves, by their decree, pronounced your banishment unjust? It is certain, that most of those who banished you have either suffered an ignominious death, or have fled from the city; and the rest are either ashamed to say any thing, or openly confess their fault. Was not that a decree of the people, by which they unanimously confessed our innocence?—It was my intention on entering the city, to have asserted that we were innocent; and although I do not excel in oratory, to have defended our cause. But when the people came to meet me, condemning themselves, and confessing their fault, I perceived that it would be useless, ungenerous and inhuman, as I should only be insulting our prostrate enemies, condemned of God, of men, and of their own conscience. Will you continue to urge your scruples about the people's recall, when you are told, that when they decreed, that those who were banished should be recalled, the question was put in this form, *Do you not confess that injustice was done to Farel and his associates?* Will you require more than this, that the people condemn themselves and acquit you? It was added, Will ye, that Farel and his associates, &c.? Shall I not ascribe (forgive me my brother if I err) your scrupulous difficulties to moroseness, rather than sound judgment? I know your sincerity—how little you regard yourself; but others, less acquainted with you, may suspect your motives, and make a handle of it for detraction. I do not pretend, that the Church has made satisfaction, proportioned to its offence. But if you saw how tender every thing is here, you would yourself agree to press this matter no farther at present. I entreat you, my Farel, to yield to the counsel of those who are prudently solicitous for the honour of your ministry. Give up, if not to our judgment, at least to the entreaties of your friends. Farewell, best and beloved brother.

GENEVA NOV. 29, 1541.

LETTER XXIII.

The EPISTLE of the illustrious PROTESTANT PRINCES and STATES of the EMPIRE, to FRANCIS I. KING OF FRANCE.

We wish you health and prosperity, most serene and most Christian King. Your Royal Majesty has always presented us with those testimonies of good will, which forcibly convince us, that you indulge the best and most friendly disposition towards us. We have indeed experienced, that our petitions were sometimes of no small consideration with your Royal

Highness. Therefore we are now induced to address and intercede with your Majesty for the safety of certain individuals, some of whom are held captives in different parts of your kingdom, particularly at Grenoble, and other cities of that province; others of them, with their little children, miserably abandoning their houses, have been compelled to escape into caverns, only because they believe the same things, concerning the Christian doctrines, which our Churches profess. We are afflicted with the severest grief, because it cannot be denied, but that many old abuses still exist in the Churches; and yet a bitterness of spirit so rages every where, that the most salutary opinions are crushed, and not only private persons but whole nations are exposed to danger. While these supplications are presented to your Royal Highness, will you please to consider, that not only we, but the Church of Christ herself lies bewailing at the feet of the most powerful Kings, and entreats and implores assistance, that the light of the rising Gospel may not be extinguished, but that it may be spared to those humble persons who are the members of Christ. We know that those who are hated for their pious doctrines, are sometimes severely punished for other crimes, and accused of sedition. But we have seen the confession of faith, offered by these persecuted persons to the court of Grenoble, and their defence, purging themselves of those crimes which have been laid to their charge. Wherefore we thought it our duty to be more earnest in their behalf, because their confession of doctrine is pious, and doubtless the pure opinion of the Catholick Church of Christ, which we also profess. We pray, therefore, that your Royal Highness would spare the lives of these, and of all others who may be imprisoned and endangered from the same cause, and would dismiss them unpunished and in safety. We hear, indeed, that pardon has been offered to some, on condition that they will abjure the confession of that doctrine which they believe to be according to the word of God; but since this would be to them more painful than death itself, we beseech your Royal Highness, for the honour of God, to mitigate that condition of their deliverance. Your Majesty is by no means ignorant, that it is a heinous crime to approve of that in religion which is against one's own conscience. This clemency will be pleasing to God, and will have a divine reward; as the Psalmist says, *Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy; the Lord will deliver him in the time of trouble.* Wherefore we beseech your Royal Majesty, with renewed earnestness, to shew this clemency towards those unfortunate persons, wherever they may be. It will be to us, and to all who profess the same religion, a distinguished favour; and especially when it is understood, that they were liberated through our intercession; and your Royal Dignity will obtain, among all good men, the distinguished praise of clemency and moderation. If this our request should be granted, of which we have some good hope, we will in our turn endeavour to testify our remembrance and gratitude by all the kind offices in our power. We wish that God may long preserve your excellent Majesty in health and prosperity.

Given at Ratisbon, this 23d of May, in the year of the Christian Salvation 1541.

THE PRINCES, AMBASSADOURS, STATES AND ORDERS, who have agreed to the Augsburg Confession, and now assembled at Ratisbon.

LETTER XXIV.

CALVIN TO FAREL.

The numerous deaths, which have occurred this year among my pious friends, I hope will instruct me in the emptiness of this present life; and impress me, in the midst of my sorrow, with holy meditations concerning my own mortality. Poralis, the first Syndick of this city, has departed to be with the Lord. His death, as was to be expected, is severely felt, and deeply lamented by us. His dying testimony was a source of consolation, while the very circumstance of his piety increased our grief; as we felt his loss to be, on that account, a more extensive deprivation. The day after he fell sick, Viret and myself were with him, and he informed us that he was in danger of losing his life; for the disease with which he was afflicted was fatal to his family. We conversed on a variety of subjects, in which he interested himself with as much familiarity as if in usual health. The two following days, his complaint increased, but in no period of his life, had he discovered more strength of mind, or greater powers of eloquence, than at this time, while he addressed those who visited him with some excellent exhortations, adapted to the character and circumstances of each individual. He now appeared to be much better, and we entertained hopes of his recovery. But after three days, the disease renewed its severity, and he was evidently in great danger; but as his body was oppressed, his mind grew more enlarged and animated. I pass the intermediate time, to the day on which he died. Viret and myself visited him about nine o'clock in the morning. I said a few things concerning the cross, the grace of Christ and the hope of eternal life, for we would not fatigue him with a long discourse. He answered, that he knew how to accept the messenger of God in a proper manner, and of what importance the ministry of Christ was in confirming the consciences of believers. He then discoursed upon the ministry and its use so powerfully, that we were both struck with astonishment, and as often as I reflect upon it, I am still confounded; for he appeared to be delivering some of our discourses improved by his own deep and long meditations. He concluded by saying, that he believed the remission of sins, of which we assured him, from the promise of Christ, with as much confidence as though an Angel should appear to him from Heaven. He then enlarged upon the harmony of the members of the Church, which he commended with the highest eulogy; testifying that his best consolations, in the warfare of death, were drawn from his being established so fully in that unity. He had, a little time before, called for some of our colleagues, with whom he became reconciled, lest by persisting in this disagreement, others might make a bad use of his example. He observed to us, "As the welfare of the Church obliges you to bear with them as brethren, why should I not, for the same reason, acknowledge them as Pastors?" He admonished them with seriousness, and called up to their remembrance the sins of which they had been guilty. But I come to his last words. Turning to those who were present, he exhorted them, that they should hold in high estimation the communion of the Church, and advised those who were still addicted to superstitious ceremonies and festivals, to lay aside their obstinacy, and unite with us in the worship of God; for we saw better, and judged more perfectly than they could in these matters. He confessed, that he himself had been obstinate in these things, but at last his eyes were opened to see the baneful effects of contention. After this, he summed up his faith in a short, solemn and clear confession. He then exhorted Viret and myself to constancy in all the parts of our official duty, and, as in a prophetick vision, he spoke of our future difficulties. Concerning the interests of the Republick, his counsel was judiciously directed to whatever related to its prosperity. He urged the most diligent attention to be given, to effect a reconciliation with the allied cities; and that the clamours of some turbulent people should not discourage us in our efforts. After addressing a few words to him, we prayed with him and retired. About two in the afternoon, my wife visited him, when he exhorted her to be of good courage, whatever might happen, and to consider that she was led to this city not rashly, but by the wonderful wisdom of God, to assist in spreading the Gospel. He soon after said, that his voice began to fail him; that however that might fail him, he should retain in his mind, and die in the confession of faith that he had made. He recited the song of Simeon, and applied it to himself, saying, "I have seen and embraced thy salvation"; and then composed himself to rest. From this time he was deprived of his voice, but continued to indicate by signs, that he had lost nothing of the vigour of his mind. About four in the afternoon, I went with the Syndicks to visit him. As he sometimes attempted to speak, and was unable, I requested him not to fatigue himself, adding that we were abundantly satisfied with his confession. I then began to speak as well as I could. He heard with a composed and tranquil mind. We had scarcely left him, when he rendered up his pious soul to the Lord Jesus Christ. This narration will be scarcely credible to you, when you consider the nature of the man; but remember that he was endowed entirely with a new spirit.

We are now deeply occupied in choosing new colleagues, and our trouble is increased, as those whom we suppose fit for the place, upon trial, disappoint our expectations. We will inform you of our progress, as your advice may be useful to us. Farewell.

June 16, 1542.

LETTER XXV.

Calvin to the Members of the Church of Montbeillard.

(Abridged.)

Your two brethren having stated to me the points of doubt or controversy which exist among you, I will simply and briefly expose to you what I should do, were I in your situation. That those persons, who wish to partake of the Lord's Supper, should present themselves to the Minister for a previous examination, is a matter so clear to me, that I think every one should do it of choice, as a means of supporting the purity and discipline of the Church. But to avoid all difficulty, some limits should be prescribed, and the method of proceeding defined. 1. Let it be in a degree a private examination, to teach the ignorant in a familiar way. 2. Let it be an opportunity for advising and reproving those who are wanting in their duty. 3. Let the Minister endeavour to strengthen the weak in faith, and encourage those who are of a tender conscience. Concerning the Supper, it is my opinion, that we should adopt the custom of administering it to the sick, when circumstances will admit it to be done with propriety; and also to criminals under sentence of death, when they request it, and are sufficiently qualified; but by this rule, that it be a true communion,—that is, that the bread be broken in a meeting of believers. It would be improper to celebrate the Supper in an ordinary meeting, merely at the request of one person. Do not indulge a too frequent use of it in this way, lest those should pretend a necessity for it, who are able to come into the publick assembly. To permit midwives to baptize is an impious and sacrilegious profanation of baptism. Therefore I think, that this practice ought not only to be resisted, but if the Prince should urge the point to extremes, you ought to resist even unto death, rather than consent to sanction this intolerable superstition.————————In burials of the dead, I would wish this to be observed, that the body, instead of being carried to the place of worship, be conveyed directly to the place of burial; and that the exhortation should there be given to all the attendants of the funeral. As to the ringing of the bell,* I would not advise you to be very tenacious in your opposition, if the Prince cannot be persuaded to abolish it, as it is not worth contending about. I would not have you oppose every festival, but insist on the abolition of those which carry the most decided marks of superstition, without any tendency to edification. In this manner you will have a plausible reason for your objections. I wish you not to shew yourself obstinate and morose; for when the Prince sees your moderation, he will be more inclined to yield in some measure, if he finds that you do not oppose them all nor without reason. I entirely agree with you, as to the danger of varying from those forms which are commonly used in our Churches; but as we have not yet arrived to that perfection, which we anticipate, and towards which we hope we are advancing, you need not hesitate to admit some of those rites, which you can neither wholly approbate, nor totally abolish.

Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

GENEVA, October 7, 1543.

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* Mabillon says, it was an ancient custom to ring the bells for persons about to expire, to advertise the people to pray for them; whence was derived the passing-bells, the use of which was connected with other superstitions; as was the bell at the festivals, masses, &c. See Rees' Cyclopædia, Art. Bell and Funeral.

LETTER XXVI.

EXTRACTS FROM SULTZER'S LETTER TO CALVIN.

————Adrian our pupil arrived here yesterday from Strasburg, with the good news that Herman, Bishop of Cologne, has abjured the Popish impieties, and is about establishing the Reformation of religion throughout his dominions, by the means of Bucer, whom he has sent for, to preach the true Gospel.————At Wittemburg, Luther has abolished the elevation of the host, which had hitherto been customary at the administration of the Lord's Supper, and also the ringing of the bells, because some Frenchmen, and some members of the Church in upper Germany, were displeased with that ceremony.————At Leipsick, by Luther's consent, they lately destroyed all the altars and images, in order to prove to the reformed Churches, that he was not so passionate and headstrong as he was reported to be.———I hope that this will have a strong tendency to produce union in the Churches; for the abundance or diversity of rituals among the Saxons has hitherto offended many. And this has been taken advantage of, by those who are wonderfully skilled in calumny, and who take pleasure in interpreting every thing according to their own malice, which may be injurious to the reformed Church.———— Paul Fagius of Isny is appointed to succeed our late excellent and learned Capito, in the ministry and professorship of theology, and is expected here every hour. The Lord preserve you with your wife and fellow labourers. Farewell.

Yours, SULTZER.

BERN, October 21, 1542.

LETTER XXVII.

Calvin to Myconius.

They allege the example of Moses and David, as if those two men had no other office but that of governing the people, in their civil capacity. These outrageous objectors should then give us civil Magistrates similar to those, that is, excelling by the singular spirit of prophecy, and sustaining each character, not by their own counsel or disposition, but by the command and vocation of God. That which they demand we would freely grant to such men. But then Moses himself, before the consecration of Aaron, discharged the office of the Priesthood. Afterwards by the command of God he prescribed what should be done. David also did not enter upon regulating the Church without the permission of the Lord. Other pious Kings, as was becoming, guarded the established order of the Church by their authority; yet they relinquished their jurisdiction of the Church, and the duties assigned to the Priest by the Lord.

LETTER XXVIII.

Melancthon to Calvin.

Your letter was transmitted to me from the Frankfort Fair; but the copies of your late work were not brought, as they did not arrive seasonably in that city. Having afterwards obtained one at Bonn with Bucer, I saw your *address* την προσφώνησιν, to me, and directly turned over a good part of the disputation. As you honour me with your generous commendations, and both piously and eloquently discuss the whole subject, I should wish, when we have an interview, according to our custom, to have a long conversation, both concerning my gratitude and the subject of the dispute. I do not arrogate to myself so much as you attribute to me of talents or learning. It becomes us to acknowledge our nothingness in the Church, yet I am highly delighted with your benevolence; and give you thanks, that in your excellent book you have been pleased to give so publick and illustrious a testimony of your love towards me. I candidly confess that I was much gratified with your declaration, that I loved and sought sincerity and plain dealing. I can say, with a safe conscience, that it was my concern, in the beginning of these disputes, when many things were discussed with too much bitterness and subtility, to cull out those things which were useful; and as much as I could, extricate them from obscurity, and publish them in a plain and friendly manner. The saying of Euripides has often come into my mind: Εσθλον το σαφος, και ασοφον το μη σαφες—*Perspicuity is good, and obscurity is foolish.* I incurred some danger, by cutting off some things most difficult to be understood; but I retained and illustrated those things which were useful. I did it however with moderation, lest by irritating those vehement minds, I should increase the discord. This was my object, to preserve unanimity among us in the Church, on the essential points. You see how many other most useful questions have been agitated; but as it is the art of generals, sometimes to leave lighter or more unimportant objects, that they may not be hindered in the pursuit of those which are more necessary, so we ought to consider what those points are for which we must most strenuously contend. The Papists fight for their ειδωλομανια, *Idol madness*, with greater hope than ever. They expect that our doctrines will be ruined by the folly of our Princes, whom they see involved in civil wars, and irritating Charles, who has hitherto been quiet, as if he was desirous to avoid the German contests. I am afflicted by this great evil, which I often predicted; not by the art of divination, but by the principles of common sense, when I saw the great worldly anxiety and other diseases of our Princes. I know, however, that God will wonderfully preserve his Church, notwithstanding the fatal tumults of Empires. Let us not be discouraged; but while we are able, let us, like the converted thief on the cross, proclaim the doctrine concerning the Son of God, and the hidden wisdom, which is appropriate to the Church; concerning the greatness of human depravity; of repentance; of the assurance of promised mercy through the Son; of true supplication; of the genuine powers of the Church; of the mysteries not to be corrupted; of the government of the Church, not such as the Papists fancy, but such as it is defined to be by the Prophets and Apostles; and lastly, of eternal life. In beautifying these great and essential doctrines, I would have you exercise your eloquence, which is able, at the same time, to confirm our friends, to terrify our enemies, and afford assistance to those who may be healed. For whose eloquence in reasoning is more nervous and splendid? Mine was never powerful, on account of the weakness of my mind; and it is now enervated by those painful cares, which have consumed the energy of life. I greatly rejoice, therefore, that God has raised you up for the defence of the gospel; and I exhort you, in the words which the apostle addresses to Timothy, μη αμελει του εν σοι χαρισματος, *neglect not the gift that is in thee.* 1 Tim. iv. 14. For although I may appear οτρουνειν σπουδοντα, *to exhort one that is giving diligence*, yet these mutual exhortations or consolations, especially in the Church, conduce much to confirm the minds of one-another; as Paul says, he would be comforted by the mutual faith and kind offices of believers. Rom. i. 12. The enemies, who wage war against the Lord, and endeavour to destroy us, are sufficiently numerous on every hand. On this account, our union should be more firm, συμφερτη γαρ αρετη κρεισσων, *for united exertion is more powerful.*

Perhaps Germany in a little time may be be laid waste by the Turks. If this should come to pass, you will be under the stronger obligation to awaken the love of learning, in places more secure; and to contend earnestly, to preserve the light of the gospel, which you have enkindled in other parts of Europe.

As to the question of Predestination, I had, at Tubingen, a friend, the learned Francis Stadian, who used to say, that he approved of these two points: That all things came to pass, as divine Providence had decreed; and yet that all things were contingent. These cannot be reconciled with each other. I hold the hypothesis, that God is not the cause of sin, nor does he *will* sin. I admit also contingency, in this our infirmity of understanding; that the common people may know that David fell freely by his own will; and I think that he, when he had the Holy Spirit, might have retained it, and that in the struggle, there was some action of the will. Although these things may be disputed with more subtlety, yet when proposed in this manner, they appear accommodated to the government of our minds. Let us accuse our own will when we fall, and not seek, in the counsels of God, an excuse for lifting up ourselves against him. Let us believe, that God will afford assistance and be present with those who strive. Μονον ϑελησον και Θεος προαπαντα, *only will, and God will meet thee with help*, says Basil. Attention therefore should be awakened in ourselves, and the immense goodness of God should be praised, since he has promised and administers assistance to those who seek, as says the Lord, that is, to those who take heed to the promise. For we must be governed by the word of God, not opposing the promise, but assenting to it, and that without any previous controversy. Then we shall willingly assent, when the secret decree of God shall have been shewn to us: but God, who is efficacious through the word, helps the assenting. I do not write these things with the intention of delivering precepts to a man the most learned and experienced in the exercises of piety. For I know that these things agree with your opinions. But being παχυτερα, *concise*, they are adapted to *common* use. I wrote this letter at Bonn, at my friend Bucer's, who was called thither to reform the Church in the diocese of Cologne. This purpose you will commend to God by your fervent prayers. Please to signify to me the reception of this letter; for if I could be certain that my letters would reach you, I would write oftener. I owe you αντιδωρον, *a return for your present;* for which cause I will shew you the testimony of a grateful mind. Farewell.

PHILIP MELANCTHON.

May 11th, 1543.

LETTER XXIX.

Calvin to the Ministers of Neufchatel.

The love of God, the peace of Christ and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be multiplied unto you always, brethren beloved in the Lord.

When our brother Enard brought your *Articles, concerning the administration of discipline among Ministers, and also the objections of a certain brother to those articles,* there was no one of us who did not judge, that an answer ought to be given to each with all readiness. But as we were not all present, we deferred it to this day's meeting. The business being proposed, we all agreed, with one consent, to the following answer: When Ministers have occasion for any special discipline among themselves, the enquiry is not to be, after what manner we may live, without established rules in the Church; but that management and order are to be pursued, which are adapted to retain us in our office, and to serve for edification. The affairs of men are never so well established, as that any thing is found perfect. To this point, however, we ought always to aim, that with one consent, and by united exertions, we may promote, as much as possible, the design for which the Church was instituted.

In this state of infirmity, it cannot be but that some things will be wanting in us, concerning which it is useful and proper that we should be admonished. In some Ministers, particular faults are to be corrected: others are to be warned before hand, when we see them in danger, lest they fall into imprudences: some are to be excited to greater zeal: others must be checked in their impetuosity: and concerning others, we must make enquiry, when any unfavourable and yet doubtful report about them goes abroad. Again, it is asked, "Whether, in general, it is necessary, that the individual delinquent should be admonished privately by each of the other Ministers? Or whether it may sometimes be expedient, that a deliberation be held among them, and the admonition be given by the whole meeting?" It often happens, that we ought to be admonished by a number together, about that concerning which no individual can with propriety admonish us. *Exempli gratia*, as it was just stated, a rumour is raised, or some complaints spread about some brother: the neighbours know it. It cannot be met with a better remedy, than that the Ministers, having consulted among themselves, advise or admonish him concerning whom the reports or complaints are made. If he is unjustly criminated, they will thus provide, that the reports spread no further; but if true, he ought not to be admonished by one only, but to be corrected by the meeting of his brethren. Take another example: There shall be something in a brother, which shall *displease* some others, either of the common members, or of his colleagues. Here the question is changed: whether that which is a *deficiency* is to be treated as a fault, and corrected? In this case, the principal points being compared, a judgment must be formed. Cases of this kind are daily occurring. To these the provincial Synods had some respect, which were formerly held twice a year. In those Synods, when they entered on the consideration of doctrine, then the complaints were heard concerning the faults of any one, and the order of discipline was exercised towards the individual. Your institution, therefore, such as you have described, we judge to be sacred and lawful. It is certainly with propriety, that we approve of that order and discipline in your Church, which we ourselves have used as good and salutary. Only let us first use (in our *Censura Morum*) equity and candour; and also prudence and moderation. When we require candour and equity, we understand this, that no one shall labour, with a malignant mind, to throw spots on the character of his brother. By prudence and moderation we understand, that no one shall make known a secret fault, by which any disgrace may be affixed upon his brother; neither shall things of *small consequence, levicula,* be exaggerated, with immoderate severity. If at any time it should happen, that those things are made publick, from the moroseness or officiousness of brethren, which ought to be kept secret; or if from a censorious disposition in any one, private faults are published; those reporters or informers should by no means be heard; but they should be severely repressed and discountenanced. That the procedure may be safe in those difficulties, which arise in the administration of discipline, it is useful that a previous discourse be faithfully delivered, concerning those things which are to be strictly observed, by all those who would not turn the salubrious medicine of discipline into poison. We should immediately and constantly from the beginning admonish them, that if there are any secret grudges, they should be openly acknowledged: that when one brother is offended with another, it is his duty to expostulate with him, before he proceeds to charge him with a crime, so that he may not confound those two distinct duties. These precautions in discipline, as much as possible, are to be taken at the threshhold, so that the door of contention may be closed, lest any creep in craftily; and if they should peradventure over-reach, in this way, their progress must be stopped. The discipline of the Church is not only of divine authority, but we find, by experience, that it is necessary, and by no means to be neglected or omitted.

Moreover, we beseech that brother in the Lord, who has hitherto dissented from you, as to your order of discipline, that he contend no further in his pertinacious objections. He should remember, among other things, what Paul requires in a Pastor, and this is not to be accounted the last, that he be not *αυθάδης*, that is, that he be not *self-willed.* This also is one of the special virtues of a good Pastor, that he so abhor, with his whole heart, contentions, as never to differ from his brethren, unless in cases of the most imperious necessity. Take care also, lest those who hear this observation of ours should suspect him of being zealous of strife, or of opposing your articles from his hatred of discipline; for we would by no means load him with this reproach, or attach to him at all the disposition of being *self-willed.* We speak these things, therefore, with the utmost simplicity, because we desire to consult his honour and benefit. As much as appertains to his objections, by which he has endeavoured to overthrow your articles of discipline, we shall only say, with his permission, that when he calls the *brotherly correction* an act of charity, from the exercise of which no one is to be excluded; he appears to us not to have noticed that which in the first place was necessary to be known, that there are many kinds of brotherly correction. We will omit others, and observe only this about which is the controversy, as this has its proper and distinct consideration. It is one article of ecclesiastical polity. It should not, therefore, be confounded with that general correction of morals, which is indifferently committed to all. We do not, therefore, concede to him, that it is a simple and common act of charity or love; forasmuch as there is a judicial board, instituted for the purpose of order and discipline, which has the edification of the Church alone for its object. *Neque etiam concedimus, neminem ab ejus obligatione eximi. Nor do we concede, that any one is deprived of his privilege, or exempted from his obligation.* Although this manner of speaking is ambiguous, as it may be taken passively or actively, yet in either way, we deny that all are bound by this article, which is specially designed for Ministers. For as those laws, which respect the order of holding the Senate, do not bind the common people; so it is agreed, that we observe among ourselves the discipline to which Ministers alone are subject.

What the objector has included in the same proposition, "That *brotherly correction* is supported by the precept of God"; if he understands, that any correction of that kind is contained expressly in the word of God, this we by no means concede to him. *Substantiam ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ exprimit disertis verbis scriptura: forma autem ejus exercendæ quoniam à Domino præscripta non est, à ministris constitui debet pro edificatione. The scriptures express the substance of ecclesiastical discipline in plain words; but the form of exercising it, since it is not prescribed by the Lord, ought to be determined by the Ministers for edification.* For which reason we also deny, that the emendation of delinquents is only to be regarded in disciplinary proceedings, for respect is, at the same time, to be had to publick order and common edification. On this subject we may take an example from the scriptures: When Paul came to Jerusalem, he was advised by James and the Elders, as he had been evilly reported among the Jews, that he should purify himself in like manner and together with them. Now it is not to be doubted, but that a deliberation among the Elders preceded this advice; and that this consultation was held, Paul not being present. But why was this? Because, indeed, the question concerned not Paul merely, but the general interest and common edification of the Church. In like manner, when the brethren reprehended Peter, because he had turned to the Gentiles, we do not read that any thing was said to him privately by any individual; because the matter was publickly known to many, it was proper, therefore, that the Elders should admonish him among themselves. And although Peter was unjustly accused in this case, we do not, however, read, that the Elders erred *in the manner* of their dealing with him; the errour was only in the cause itself; for they pursued the usual and ordinary method of discipline.

The precept of Christ, which we have in Matthew xviii., we receive concerning secret faults, according to the express meaning of the words. Therefore, if a brother offend in any thing, you knowing it, and there being no other witness, Christ commands you to go to him in private; although he does not forbid but that you should do the same in a case where there are others who equally know the facts with yourself. This should be done, as though you were ignorant that others knew it; and on the ground that you do not think it expedient to accuse him in the presence of other persons. Christ adds, If you effect nothing in this way, take with you two or three witnesses. This, in our judgment, is not to be understood of the witnesses of the fault, but of the admonition; that by this means it may have more weight. This, however, has nothing to do with the point of preventing the exercise of discipline, about which the controversy now is. Besides it is not now debated, whether secret faults are to be publickly exposed; but our enquiry is, what those things are which only beget some small offence, or which are not much removed from occasioning offence. Of this kind we have an example in the reprehension of Peter. For neither did Paul refuse witnesses, that he might admonish Peter privately, but he did it before the Church. Nor yet was the matter known to all; but because danger threatened, he would be before hand and prevent it.

The fifth proposition of the objector, we cannot receive without exception; for it declares, "that we are proceeding correctly, even when we admonish a Presbyter privately who is labouring under a notorious sin." But Paul, in the text where he forbids an accusation to be received against Elders, unless before proper witnesses, would on the other hand have *peccantes Presbyterios, offending Presbyters* admonished before all, that others also might fear. If it is sometimes a duty to admonish offenders publickly, even Presbyters, for whom a greater respect is to be had, and it obtains for an example, it certainly cannot be correctly and prudently done, that any one should abstain from such reprehension. What shall we say more? We judge that we have given all the counsel, which the time allows, or the case requires. But these two things are to be always regarded, the first, that offenders be not discouraged, through too much severity: and the other, that offences be not connived at by us. We wonder why that Brother added the sixth proposition, for it is sufficiently evident from the term Church, in the words of Christ, that he properly designated that Church of which he himself was a member, and whose obstinacy he had denounced. But here two things are to be observed; First, that when the obstinacy of a stubborn offender is published before one Church, and he contemptuously leaves that Church and migrates to another, he shall be denounced in this also. The ancient Canons determine this, when they prohibit a stranger to be received to communion, unless he shall produce a testimony. For where is the communion of the Church, if when condemned by one he is received by another? Where is the discipline, if he who despises one Church may migrate to another, and carry such pride with him with impunity? The other point to be observed is, that those whom we esteem to be Ministers of one Church *qui in unum collegium adunati, who are united in one association*, should constitute one body. *Quorsum enim Decanus, quorsum alia omnia, nisi tanquam unius corporis membra inter nos coalescamus? For what purpose is a Leader, or Moderator, for what purpose all other things, unless, as members of one body, we are united among ourselves?*

We trust that the author of the propositions will receive in good part what we have written in sincerity. It is the duty of us all, not only to yield to the truth, but to receive it willingly, with extended hands when it comes in our way. Farewell, dear brethren in the Lord. May the Lord multiply unto you daily the spirit of wisdom and prudence, for the edification of his Church, and may he render your ministry extensively fruitful.

JOHN CALVIN,
in the name of all the brethren.

GENEVA, from our meeting, Nov. 7, 1544.

LETTER XXX.

CALVIN TO THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

I have received a letter from a certain person, which he says was written by him at your request. By this letter I perceive, that you do not approve of the book which I published against the Libertines. It would grieve me extremely to occasion you sorrow, unless it might tend to your salvation.

That sorrow is not to be repented of, as says the apostle, *the cause of which ought to lead any one to repentance.* However, I can hardly conceive, why this book has excited so much dissatisfaction. He who wrote to me says the cause of the offence was, that the book was written against you and your household. As it respects you, I never even thought of attacking your name, or of diminishing that respect which all pious persons owe you; not to mention the royal dignity to which the Lord has raised you, the illustrious family from which you descended, and finally the summit of supreme nobility, which renders you conspicuous in the world. All who know me are witnesses, how much I am a stranger to that incivility, that would despise earthly powers and principalities, and whatever else appertains to civil government. I am by no means ignorant of those qualifications with which God has endowed you; and how extensively he has used your labours in the defence of his kingdom. These things afford me a substantial reason for respecting you and defending your name. I wish you to persuade yourself, that those persons, who are endeavouring to excite your resentment against me, are neither influenced by a regard for you, nor any personal hatred to me; but are in this way taking the opportunity to withdraw you from the sincere love, which you have manifested towards the Church of God; and thus to alienate your affections by degrees from the solicitude with which you have hitherto worshipped Christ our Lord, and protected his members. As to your household, I do not suppose you can imagine your house to be more dignified than that of the Lord Jesus Christ, in whose family there was one who deserved the name of a Devil; a servant who sat at his own table, and was raised to the honour of being appointed one of the Ambassadours of the Son of God. I was not, however, so inconsiderate as to designate your house, at the time when I expressed the truth on that subject, as in the presence of God, nor did I even hint that those whom I mentioned pertained, in any respect, to your family. It may now be enquired, whether from motives of mere self-gratification, I treated of those persons in my discourse; or whether I was influenced by weighty and just reasons, and as from mere necessity, to notice them as I did? When you possess the whole truth of this matter, I am persuaded, that you will judge me not only excusable, but that my candour deserves your commendation. Concerning this sect, I am decidedly of the opinion, that there is nothing among men more pernicious and abominable. It is a burning torch, by which all things will be immediately enkindled and consumed. It is a most powerful contagion, by which every thing will be infected, unless some remedy is at once applied to arrest its progress. Now as I am called of God to this office, my conscience impels me to resist this pressing evil with all my strength. Besides, I am called upon daily, by many pious persons, who have not ceased to implore my assistance, complaining that almost all the Netherlands were beset with that evil; and saying that I should at least exert myself to apply a remedy. Notwithstanding these excitements, I restrained myself a whole year, hoping that the evil would sicken and silently die away of itself. If any one objects, that it would have been sufficient for me to write against their opinions, and spare their persons, I have a reasonable excuse. When I understood how much hurt *Anthony Poquet* was doing in Artois, Hainault and the neighbourhood, and from persons worthy of full credit; and when I was personally knowing that *Quintin* was wholly engaged in winning over the simple and the credulous to that irrational sect, and that these men were incessantly labouring to destroy the true doctrine, to plunge wretched souls into perdition, and to carry a contempt of God through the whole earth; I put the question to you for decision, whether I could honestly have concealed these men? A dog, if any one attacks his master, will at least attempt to frighten him by barking. Who would excuse me, if, when I hear the truth of God assailed, I should suffer my mouth to remain closed? I do not believe that you expect me, in order to please you, to prevaricate in the defence of the Gospel, which is committed to me. Do not then, I beseech you, take it amiss, if in the discharge of my duty, being compelled by the fear of God, I have not spared one of your household, since I have offered nothing which might in the least affect your reputation. What the author of the letter says in your name, that such servants as I am will not be very acceptable to you, I judge the same of myself, and acknowledge that I cannot be of any great service to you; for neither have I the ability, nor you the occasion of my personal assistance. But yet a partiality of mind towards you is not wanting, nor will I, while I live, by the grace of God, be otherwise affected towards you. Should you even be averse to my respect, that will not change my disposition or affection towards you. As to other things, every one who knows me can testify how far my disposition is from seeking access to Princes, and from being excited by a love of such honours. Perhaps if I had sought them, I should not have succeeded in obtaining them. I have reason to thank God, that my mind is wholly free from that desire. I am abundantly satisfied, that I am in the service of that Divine Master, who has admitted and retained me in his family, and entrusted me with that office, which with him is of so much weight, however it may be accounted vile and despicable in the eyes of men. I should be the most ungrateful of all mortals, if I did not prefer this my condition to all the honours and riches of the world. As to the inconstancy of which you accuse me, I assure you, confidently, that you have been imposed upon. I have, indeed, never been brought to this trial, that any one should demand of me *a confession of my faith.* Should it be demanded of me, I have no such confidence in myself that I dare boast; but I am confident, that as God formerly supported me, so that I did not fear to defend his word, *in the name of another*,* even at the hazard of my life, so in like manner he will reach out the hand of protection to me, whenever his name may be glorified by my *confession.* By divine favour, I have been so consistent with myself, that no one can accuse me of a direct or indirect denial or recantation of the truth, which I have supported. And what is still more than that, it was always in my view an awful madness, which could induce any one to deny Christ, to preserve his life or estate; and such were my feelings on that occasion, when I was in France, as I am able to prove by appropriate witnesses. That it may appear more evident, that those, who have endeavoured to injure me in your estimation, have basely abused your generous disposition, I will name to you, as a witness, Cleracus, from whom you may most certainly ascertain the extreme falsehood of the calumny, which has been invented against me, and which is insufferable, as by it the name of God may be blasphemed. In myself, I am indeed nothing; but since God has been pleased to use me as an instrument in building up his Church, I see, as well as others, how injurious would be the consequences of that reproach, if credited against me, and how it would prevail to the disgrace of the Gospel. Blessed be the Lord, who has not permitted Satan to contend against me to that degree, but that he has supported me in my infirmity; and never suffered me to be arraigned for the utmost trial of my faith, nor proved my integrity by chains. I would wish your pardon for the shortness of my letter, and a certain perturbation which affects me; for as soon as I received your letter I immediately began this answer, that I might, to your satisfaction, remove the offence; and induce you to continue your protection and benevolence towards the pious, according to your former munificence. May the Lord Jesus Christ protect you by his shield, and direct you by his Spirit, to pursue his vocation, even unto death, with a sincere zeal and prudence.

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* This undoubtedly refers to the sermon which Cop, the Rector of the University of Paris, preached on All Saints day, which it is said Calvin composed in part at least. It was the danger to which Calvin was then exposed, that brought him first acquainted with the Queen,

Your most humble and devoted servant,

JOHN CALVIN.

April 20, 1545.

LETTER XXXI.

Calvin to Melancthon, wishes health.

I will briefly mention for what reason this noble and pious youth has undertaken, at my request, this visit to you. I published a small book in the vulgar tongue, in which I reproved the hypocrisy of those who, although enlightened by the true Gospel, still continued to attend the service of the Papists, which they know to be full of sacrilege and anathema. You would wish me, perhaps, to moderate something of this precise severity. But what just occasion I had for this you will be able to judge, when you have weighed and well considered the subject. Perceiving that many complained of my severity, especially those who appeared to grow wise in their own opinion, in proportion as they took more diligent care to preserve their lives; I composed an *Apology*, which wounded their sensibility more painfully than the former treatise. Many, who esteem religion only as they do philosophy, affect severely to despise my reproof. All those, however, who seriously fear God, have at least advanced so far in knowledge, as to begin to be dissatisfied with themselves. But as the question appears to them perplexed, they still hang in doubt until they shall be confirmed by your authority, and that of Luther. I apprehend that they consult you, because they hope that your opinion will be more agreeable to their wishes. But whatever may be their intentions, as I am persuaded, that from your singular prudence and sincerity, you will faithfully give them salutary counsel, I readily, according to their request, engaged to send a man to you on this business. But as I considered it to be a matter of consequence, that you should know my opinion, and the reasons which induced me to embrace it, I immediately translated *the two books* into the Latin tongue. And although I may appear to have done this improperly, yet I ask you, by our mutual friendship, not to refuse the trouble of reading them. Your judgment, as it ought to be, is of such weight with me, that it would give me great unhappiness to undertake to defend that on this subject which you could by no means approve. I know, indeed, that from your great moderation, you allow many things to others, which you would not permit to yourself. We must, however, enquire, what is lawful for us? lest we loosen where the Lord binds. I do not ask you to agree with me; that would be too great effrontery; or to depart, on my account, from the free and plain exposition of your opinion. All I ask is, that you would not neglect the perusal of the books. Indeed, I wish that we so entirely agreed, that there should not be even the appearance of a disagreement in a single word. It is your duty to precede me, rather than have any regard to what might meet my approbation. You see how familiarly I address you, nor am I at all anxious lest it should exceed the limits of friendship; for I well understand how much freedom is permitted me, from your singular good will towards me. I apprehend there will be somewhat more difficulty in treating with Luther. As far as I learn from reports, and the letters of some of my friends, the mind of that man, being as yet scarcely pacified, will be fretted by the most trifling cause. On this account, the letter which I have written to him the messenger will show to you; so that, after perusing it, you can regulate the whole business according to your own prudence. You will provide, therefore, that nothing is attempted rashly, and without due consideration, that may have an unfavourable termination; which I am confident you will faithfully accomplish, by your uncommon address.

I have not been able as yet fully to ascertain what controversies are agitated among you in Germany, nor what has been their issue; excepting that an atrocious libel has been published, which, like a fire-brand, will enkindle fresh flames, unless the Lord, on the other hand, restrain their minds, already, as you know, beyond measure heated. But for what, and why are these controversies excited? When I consider how ill-timed these intestine controversies are, I am almost lifeless with grief. A merchant of Nuremberg, passing through this city, lately showed me an apology of *Osiander*, which greatly mortified me for his sake. For what purpose could it answer, to abuse *the Zuinglians*, with foul language, at every third line; to treat with so much inhumanity Zuinglius himself; and not, indeed, even to spare that holy servant of God, Œcolampadius, whose meekness I wish he would half imitate? Osiander would, in that case, be far higher in my estimation. I do not, by any means, ask him to suffer in silence his reputation to be traduced with impunity. I only wish he would abstain from reproaching those men, whose memory ought to be honoured by every pious person. While I am displeased with the petulance of the writer, by whose mournful ditties he complains that he has been defamed; I lament his want of moderation, discernment and discretion. How great is the pleasure which we are affording the Papists, as if we were devoting our labours to their cause! But I shall unreasonably increase your sorrow, by the recital of evils which you cannot remedy. *Let us mourn then, since it becomes us to be afflicted with the troubles of the Church; but let us still sustain ourselves with this hope, that although we are oppressed and tossed by these mighty waters, we shall not be overwhelmed.*

All the brethren in France have their minds much elevated in the strong expectation of a Council. There is no doubt but that the King himself, at least in the beginning, had a desire and determination to convoke one. For Cardinal Tournon, on his return from the Emperour, persuaded Francis, that Charles had the same intention. At the same time, he advised the King, in the name of the Emperour, to send for two or three of you to meet him; hoping that by flattery, or by some other means, he might extort from you separately, what he could not obtain from you in a Council. The Emperour promised that he would pursue the same course. This was their object, that you being bound by previous declarations to them, would be less able to vindicate the cause, when you should come to serious disputation in the Assembly. Having despaired of conquering us, by an open and correct management of the cause, they see no shorter and surer method of succeeding, than by keeping the Princes in fear of punishment; that they may hold their liberty, as if conquered and bound, in subserviency to their purposes. As this advice pleased the King, Castellanus refused to allow the French Divines to dispute with you, unless they should be first well instructed and prepared. You were men accustomed to this kind of battle, and could not be so easily overcome. They must take care lest the King be betrayed through the ignorance of his Divines, and expose his whole kingdom to ridicule. The ambition of the King gave the preference to this advice. Twelve were elected to dispute at Melun, on the various controverted points, and were ordered to refer their decisions to the King. They promised, under oath, to keep the transactions in silence. But I certainly know, though they be silent, that they aim entirely at suppressing the truth; and however they dissemble, as though they were seeking some kind of reformation, it is unquestionably a fact, that they are agitating this one point alone: How the light of the true doctrine may be buried, and their own tyranny established. I am persuaded that the advice of Cardinal Tournon was providentially frustrated; lest some of our brethren, unguarded and unsuspecting, should be ensnared. You remember that the same artifices were made use of against you by Bellai. But if we turn unto the Lord, all their assaults and machinations will be vain. Farewell, most excellent man and respected friend. May the Lord be always present with you, and long preserve you in health for his Church.

Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

January 18, 1545.

[The following letter is on the same general subject with a part of the preceding; and is therefore here inserted in connection with that.]

Calvin to Melancthon.

I wish that my sympathy in your grief, while it distresses me, might in some measure relieve you. If the fact is as the brethren of Zurich say, they certainly had a just cause for writing. With what rashness your *Pericles* (Osiander) continues to thunder? Especially as his cause is only the worse for it. We all owe much to him, I confess; and I should be willing to have him possess the chief Magistracy, if he only knew how to govern himself. We must, however, always take heed, in the Church, how much deference we pay to men. The work is done, when any one has more power than all the rest; especially, if this one has nothing to check him in making all possible experiments. In the present deranged state of things, we perceive how difficult it is to quiet the disturbances. If we all, however, exercised that disposition which ought to guide us, some remedy perhaps might be found. We are certainly transmitting to posterity a pernicious example, by consenting to abandon our liberty, rather than to disquiet the mind of one man with some trifling mortification. His passions are vehement, and he is subject to violent paroxysms. He also boasts of this vehemency, in proportion as we all indulge him, and suffer every thing from him. If this example of insolent domination manifests itself, at the very opening of the Reformation of the Church, what will shortly take place, when things shall have fallen into a still worse condition? Let us weep, therefore, for the calamity of the Church; let us not suppress our grief in our own breasts; but venture at length to give our lamentations a free circulation. What if you were, by the permission of God, reduced to the extreme necessity of having extorted from you a fuller confession concerning this subject? I acknowledge, indeed, that what you teach is perfectly true; and that, by your mild manner of teaching, you leave endeavoured hitherto to recal others from contention; and I commend your prudence and moderation. But while you avoid this subject, (Consubstantiation,) as some dangerous rock, lest you incur the displeasure of some, you leave many in suspense and perplexity, who require of you something more decisive, in which they may acquiesce. It is, however, a dishonour to us, as I remember to have said to you before, that we do not *consignare, ratify*, at least with *ink*, that doctrine, which so many pious persons have delivered to us, *testatam, sealed* with their own blood. Perhaps God will now open to you the way for a full and firm explanation of your mind, on this subject; that those who depend on your authority, whom you know to be very many, may no longer remain in doubt. I do not say this so much to awaken as to console you. For unless I hoped that something of this kind would arise from this turbulent and overbearing insurrection, I should be affected with a grief much more severe. However, we must quietly wait for such a termination as the Lord will please to grant. In the mean time, let us preserve our course with unyielding resolution.

I give you many thanks for your answer, and also for the singular kindness, with which you have treated Claudius, as he informs me. From your kind and generous reception of my friends, I am enabled to form an opinion of your disposition towards me. I give sincere thanks to God, that on the chief heads of *that question*, (as stated in the preceding letter,) concerning which we were consulted, our opinions have so entirely agreed. For although there is a very small difference about some particulars, yet as to the substance of the matter, we perfectly coincide.

June 28, 1445.

LETTER XXXII.

Bucer to Calvin, wishes health.

Beseech the Lord fervently for the health of this Church; that she may learn to lose her life, that she may save it. The Lord preserve you, and strengthen you against all evils. May your wife and household be preserved; and may the same gracious Being preserve mine also.

March 30, 1547.

LETTER XXXIII.

BUCER TO CALVIN, S. D.

O my Calvin! is not God thus wanting to his promises, because we have despised them? How suddenly all our loftiness is fallen into baseness and misery? Thus a just God punishes us, and will still punish that contempt of his name, which he has so long suffered from our abusive hypocrisy. He will vindicate his name also from Antichrist, by whose endless and most insolent reproaches it is daily abused. But when we shall at length perceive by whom we are cast down, and how justly we have merited that fall, we may return to our Father who is chastising us. Pray instantly the Lord Jesus, who gives repentance and faith, that he would pierce the hardness of our hearts, and penetrate them with a true feeling andgrief for our impiety; and that he would give us wholly to trust in and consecrate ourselves to him, that, in prayer, we may seek the Father through him, for the pardon of our sins; which, unless they are removed from us, threaten us with sudden destruction. I do not, however, fear the destruction of the kingdom of Christ; I am confident, that it will be gloriously extended; and that Antichrist will be daily worn down; but my fear is, that the Lord will use us Germans for this purpose. Other things this brother will communicate. The Lord be with you. Salute most affectionately all yours for me.

Yours, BUCER.

July 19, 1547.

LETTER XXXIV.

J. Calvin to the Protector of England.

Although God has endowed you, most noble Lord, for your station, with the fortitude, prudence and other virtues, which the magnitude of the office demands; yet as you acknowledge me to be a servant of his Son, whom you account yourself to prefer before all things else, I have persuaded myself that you would receive it kindly, that I should write to you in his name. I propose to myself nothing more, than that you should continue to advance his glory, by pursuing the work you have begun, until you have brought his kingdom to the most desirable state, of which it is capable on earth. In perusing this letter you will perceive, that I have produced nothing of my own, but have transcribed from the scriptures whatever you have here for your benefit. When I consider the singular greatness to which you are raised, I am fully sensible, with how much difficulty, my littleness will find access to you. But as you do not despise the doctrine of that master to whom I am devoted, and as you consider it a distinguished privilege to be in the number of his disciples, I need not apologize in many words, believing that you are sufficiently prepared to receive whatever manifestly comes from him. We certainly have reason to thank God our Father, that he has been pleased to use your labours, in so great a work, as that of restoring his pure and sincere worship in the kingdom of England; in causing that the doctrine of salvation, chiefly by your means, should be publickly and faithfully announced to all, who will deign to open their ears; in strengthening you, with so great resolution and constancy, to persevere undismayed, through so many difficulties and insults; and that he has hitherto assisted you with his powerful hand, followed with his blessing and prospered your counsels and labours. These are so many arguments with the pious for glorifying his holy name. But seeing that the adversary is perpetually exciting fresh opposition, and that the matter itself is of the most peculiar and difficult undertaking, to allure men, who are by nature addicted to falsehood, to a peaceable submission to the truth of God; and also that there are other causes which delay this progress, especially those deep rooted superstitions of Antichrist, which are with extreme labour overcome in the minds of many; it appeared to me, that you personally needed to be confirmed by pious exhortations in this so arduous undertaking; and I doubt not but you have found yourself the benefit of this from experience. I shall on this account be more free and full in my observations. As I hope that my advice will answer your wishes, so I conclude that you will take, in good part, my exhortation; and although it should be unnecessary, yet that the zeal and solicitude which prompted me in this business will meet with your approbation. Moreover, the present perilous situation of affairs, which you yourself acknowledge, furnishes a still stronger reason, why my endeavours should be more acceptable to you. Wherefore, I entreat you, most noble Lord, to attend patiently to the few remarks which I have determined to submit to your consideration. I hope that, in return for your attention to them, they will afford you that assistance, which will enable you more vigourously to pursue the holy work, for the completion of which God is pleased to use you as an instrument. I doubt not but that those great tumults, which have occurred for some time past, have given you much trouble and anxiety, especially since many took offence, who were provoked in a great measure by the reformation of religion. It cannot be, I say, but that the observation of these things must excite in you various emotions, whether you reflect on your own apprehensions about them, or turn your attention to the clamours of the wicked, or the consternation of the good. This rumour spread to so great a distance deeply affected me, until I understood that assistance from the Lord began to be manifested. But since that fire is not yet extinguished, and it is an easy matter for the adversary again to rekindle it, place before your eyes the memorable example of the pious King Hezekiah, which we have so expressly related to us in the scriptures. Having abolished the superstitions from Judea, and established the pure worship of God according to his law, he was suddenly overtaken with so oppressive a war, that he was considered by many as lost and ruined beyond recovery. Thus the scriptures appositely bring those things together, that while he was wholly engaged in restoring the true worship of God to its place, the issue of his labour was in appearance most unfavourable to him. He evidently had every reason to hope, that while he was so heartily engaged in building up God's kingdom, he should secure the most perfect tranquility of his own. All pious Princes, and Governours of Provinces, should apply this example to themselves, that they may proceed more courageously in abolishing all idolatry, and in procuring lawfully the true worship of God, as their duty demands; and moreover that they may understand that their faith is to be subjected to similar trials through many temptations. Thus the Lord permits, indeed thus he wills, both to manifest their constancy, and prepare them to raise their eyes above this world. In the mean time, the adversary will thrust himself in the way; and though unable openly to destroy the true doctrine, he will not cease to plot its ruin by sophistry and cunning. To this purpose is the admonition of James, That while we observe the endurance of Job, we should consider the end of the Lord. In the same manner, terminated the trial of the pious King Hezekiah, with whom the Lord was present, and in his greatest straits gave him, on that account, a far more signal victory. Wherefore, since his hand is not shortened, nor his support of the truth less near his heart than in former ages, you must not despair of his aid, by whatever tempests you may be tossed.

That the greater part of men resist the Gospel, and direct all their exertions to prevent its progress, should be no matter of surprise. Such, indeed, has been the unceasing ingratitude of the world, that they turn their backs upon God when he calls them, and kick against him when he purposes to put his yoke upon them. Men, by nature, are enslaved to hypocrisy, and cannot bear to be brought to the light of the Gospel, which would reveal their pollution and guilt; nor to be rescued from the darkness of their superstitions, under the shade of which they sleep in quiet repose. It is not a new thing for mankind to make opposition, when the attempt is made to bring them back to the obedience and worship of God. We should not, therefore, be negligent or timid in the discharge of our duty. For when they have gone to the extremes of disorder, and have exhausted their rage, they are confounded at once, and necessarily fall by their own extravagance. As it respects God, surely all these ragings and foamings of men are held by him in derision, as it is expressed in the second Psalm. Therefore, winking at their outrages, he will be silent, as if he treated the matter with indifference; but at length they will be repressed by his power. Armed with the same power, we shall sustain, by his invincible protection, all the efforts of Satan against us; and we shall, in the end, perceive, in every deed, that the Gospel, as a messenger of peace, brings reconciliation with God, and tends to establish peace among men, as the Lord testifies by Isaiah. When the kingdom of Christ shall be established by his instruction, *it shall come to pass, that they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks.* Is. ii. 4. In the mean time, although seditions and tumults, excited against the Gospel, arise from the wickedness and obstinacy of men, yet it becomes us to look to ourselves, and conclude, that God is thus punishing us for our own sins, although it is evident, that he uses as instruments those who are the very servants of Satan. It is an old objection, that the Gospel was the cause of all those evils which afflict the human race. And indeed it is evident from history, that from the time in which the Christian religion began to be spread through the world, there was scarcely a corner which was not afflicted with extreme evils. The constant commotions of wars arose like some conflagration, by which all things were consumed; floods prevailing on the one hand, and on the other pestilence and famine; here the end of all government, and there the inversion of all order, as if the world, absolutely conspiring against itself, was broken to pieces and dissolved. The same has happened in this age, since the Gospel began to come forth from the darkness with which it was covered. The face of things exhibited a miserable appearance; complaints were every where circulated, that we were born in a most unhappy period; and there were few who did not faint under so great a pressure of difficulties. But while we feel these wounds, we ought to advert to the hand that inflicts them, and to the cause of their infliction; what this is, is by no means obscure, nor difficult to be perceived. It is certain, that the word of God, by which we are led in the way of salvation, is an incomparable treasure. Let us then examine it ourselves, with as much reverence as it is offered to us by its author, and it will be received by us. When that is accounted vile with us, which with him is of great moment, who will not acknowledge, that it is perfectly just with him, to punish in return our ingratitude? Let us hear the declaration of Christ, Luke xii. 47. *That servant which knew his Lord's will and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.* Since therefore we are so negligent in obeying the will of God, the knowledge of which is an hundred fold more abundant with us than in former ages, it should not appear strange, that his indignation should be more vehemently enkindled against us, who of all men are the most inexcusable. And since we do not labour to have the good seed grow and be fruitful, it is just that briars and thorns should be cherished among us by the artifice of the adversary, by the prickings of which we may be vexed. And lastly, as we do not render to the Creator that which is justly due to him from us, it is right that we should experience the obstinacy of men against ourselves.

But to address myself to you more immediately. Most noble Lord, there are, as I understand, two sorts of seditious persons, who have risen up against the King, and the government of the kingdom. Some, who are passionate and hasty, would introduce αταξιαν, *confusion*, every where under the name of the Gospel; and others have become so hardened in the superstitions of Antichrist, that they cannot endure their removal. Both of these classes deserve to be restrained by the civil power, which God has committed to your hands; since they rise up not only against the King, but against God himself, who has placed the King on the throne, and appointed you the protector of his person and Majesty. Your first and main object must be to provide, as far as may be, that those who have some relish for the Gospel, and have determined to devote themselves to it, may receive it with humility and reverence of mind, renouncing their own wills, and, as their duty requires, giving up themselves entirely to God. For thus it becomes them to consider, that the Lord, by these emergencies would awaken them, that they may profit more seriously by his word than they have hitherto done. Those fanaticks, who would wish to change the world into a licentious freedom, are expressly raised up by Satan, that through them the gospel may be reproached;

as if it were the cause of rebellion against rulers, and introduced into the world unrestrained licentiousness. It is the duty of the pious to mourn the pernicious labours of these wicked men, and patiently implore of the Lord, that he would send that light, which will sooner or later most certainly dissipate this darkness. The Papists, while they labour to defend the filthiness and abominations of their Romish idols, betray more and more their open hatred of the benefits of Christ and all his commandments, which extremely afflicts those who have a particle of pure zeal remaining. Wherefore, let the pious acknowledge, that these things are appointed of God,as so many scourges to chastise them, because they do not bring forth the legitimate fruits of the Gospel. Let the principal and only expedient, applied to quiet these commotions, be the true conformity to the image of Christ in those who have professed his name; and so let them testify, that pure Christianity abhors all confusion of every kind. Let them prove, by their uniform modesty and temperance, that they are governed by the word of God, so that they may by no means be accounted lawless and unruly. Thus will their righteous and holy life shut the mouths of the impious. The Lord, being appeased, will remove the rod of correction, and instead of the punishment which he inflicts on the despisers of his word, he will follow the repentance of his people with the most assured blessing. It becomes the Nobility and Magistrates especially to be first in giving this example, and foremost in submitting, with fear and reverence, to the yoke of Christ, the Son of God and supreme Lord of all. These, I say, must exhibit the sincere faith and obedience of body and of soul, that he may in return repress the pride and rage of those, who unjustly magnify themselves against their rulers. It is the highest concern of the Princes of this age, to govern their subjects in such a manner, as to prove that they are themselves in subjection to Christ, and to give all diligence, that his authority may extend itself over all, from the highest to the lowest. Wherefore, I ask of you, most noble Lord, through Christ himself, and that singular affection with which you embrace the kingdom of your nephew, which is exhibited in a luminous manner, in all your conduct, to exercise all your combined influence and vigilance, that the truth of God may be preached with the fullest authority and efficacy; and that fruits worthy of the celestial seed may be produced. That this may be effected, withhold not your hand from pursuing the full and entire reformation of the Church, which you have begun.

That you may more easily apprehend my thoughts, I will reduce the whole to three heads:—First, concerning the true method of correctly teaching the people. Second, concerning the extirpation of those abuses which have hitherto been retained. Third, concerning the correction of vices most perfectly, and endeavouring to prevent the growth of scandals and luxury, on account of which the name of the Lord is blasphemed. As it respects the first head, there is no occasion, that I should dwell long upon the detail of doctrines. Concerning these there is much reason that I should give thanks to God, by whom you are so illuminated in the knowledge of the pure doctrines, that you take care that these should be publickly taught. You are not, I say, to be taught by me, the faith of Christians, and the doctrines which are maintained by them; since the true faith has been restored and published by you in a meeting of the Church. But if any one would have a summary of the worship of God, it may be reduced to this—That we have one God, the Governour of our consciences: for the direction of these, we must make use of his law alone for the rule of devotion, lest we bring to his worship any of the vain traditions of men: he must moreover be worshipped by all, according to his own nature, with the whole mind and heart. But since there is nothing in us except a miserable corruption, which occupies both our senses and affections, we must acknowledge that entire abyss of iniquity, and dread it when acknowledged. In this manner, having obtained a true knowledge of our state, as being in ourselves broken, wounded, lost, deprived of all dignity and wisdom, and finally of any power to do good, we must at last flee to the Lord Jesus Christ, the only fountain of all blessings, to partake of whatever he offers, and principally that incomparable treasure of his death and passion, by which method alone we may become entirely reconciled to God the Father. Purified by the sprinkling of his blood, we shall be assured that none of those stains will remain in us, which would cover us with shame before his celestial throne. We shall be persuaded of the efficacy of his perpetual sacrifice, by which we have sealed to us the gratuitous remission of sins, and on which we must fasten as the refuge and anchor of salvation. Being sanctified by his Spirit, we shall be consecrated in obedience to the righteousness of God; and confirmed by his grace, we shall come off more than conquerors over Satan, the world and the flesh. Being members of his body, we shall not doubt but that God will number us in the family of his children; and we shall address him with entire confidence by the legitimate and endearing name of Father. This is the design of the true doctrine, which is ever to be preserved and heard by all in the Church of God, that all may sincerely aim at this mark; and that each individual gradually withdrawing himself from the world may raise himself to Christ his head, who is in heaven, by perseverance, prayer, morals and habits.

But as the Lord has been pleased to spread so abundantly about you his most precious light, which had so long been buried under the darkness of Antichrist, I will add but a few words more. What I have said only pertains to the form of teaching, in order that the proper method of instructing the people may be followed. For example, they must be pricked to the quick, that each one may be sensible of the words of the Apostle, *the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow; and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.* Heb. iv. 12. This, I say, I inculcate more expressly, because I fear that there are but few lively Preachers in the kingdom; and that the greater part have recourse, *in recitationis modum, to the method of reading.* I perceive also some cause of that scarcity among you; and as you have not in your power sound and well qualified Pastors, that defect must be supplied in its proper manner. You must also beware of unstable and rash men, who, in a change of things, are carried far beyond all bounds, and prate forth their own dreams for the word of God. Nothing of this kind should hinder the establishment of the institution of Christ for preaching the Gospel. The instituted preaching must not be dead, but animated, and effectual *for instruction, exhortation and reproof,* as the Apostle testifies to Timothy, 2d Tim. iii. so that if an unbeliever enter the meeting of the faithful, it should affect him, in such a manner that, pierced by the hearing of the word, he may give glory to God, as the same Apostle elsewhere shews, 1. Cor. xiv.—You cannot be ignorant of what this Apostle teaches concerning the power and energy, which those should possess, who are desirous to approve themselves, as sound and well qualified Ministers of the word. He would have them free from those ornaments, and that species of eloquence, by which men display themselves, for admiration, in the theatre. In their discourses, the power of the Spirit should so lucidly manifest itself, as to act powerfully on the minds of the audience. No precaution should be used, to prevent that

Spirit from maintaining its liberty and constant vigour in the Ministry of those whom the Lord has endowed with his gifts, for the edification of his Church. It is indeed necessary to watch over those unstable and wandering minds, who would take too much liberty to themselves. The door must be shut against curious innovations. The only means to be used for this purpose, is to have a summary of doctrine received by all, which they may follow in preaching. To the observance of this, all Bishops and Clergy should be bound by oath, that no one might be admitted to the ecclesiastical office, unless he promises to keep inviolate the unity of doctrine. Let there, besides, be published a plain formula or Catechism, for the use of children, and those who may be more ignorant among the people. Thus the truth will be rendered more familiar to them; and at the same time they will learn to distinguish it from impostures and corruptions, which are so apt to creep in by little and little upon the ignorant and careless. It becomes you to be fully persuaded, that the Church of God cannot be without a Catechism; for therein the true seed of doctrine is to be contained, from which at length the pure and seasonable harvest will be matured, and from this the seed may be multiplied abundantly. Wherefore, if you expect to build an edifice of this kind, which shall stand long, and be safe from destruction, give all care that each child should be instructed in the faith, by the Catechism published for that purpose; that they may learn briefly, and as their capacities will admit, in what consists true Christianity. The usefulness of the Catechism will not be confined merely to the instruction of children. The consequence will also be, that the people, being taught by it, will be better prepared to profit by the ordinary preaching of the word; and also if any one puffed up, should introduce any new opinions, he may be detected by an immediate appeal to the rule of the Catechism. As to the formula of prayers and ecclesiastical ceremonies, I very much approve, that a proper one should exist, from which the Pastors should not be permitted to vary, in the exercise of their office; and which might consult the simplicity and ignorance of some persons, and also establish a more certain agreement of all the Churches among themselves. This would, moreover, put a check upon the instability and levity of those persons, who might attempt innovations, and it would have the same tendency as I have before shown the Catechism would have. Thus ought to be established a Catechism, the administration of the sacraments, and the publick formula of prayers. But the expediency of this polity in the Church must not tend to prevent or diminish, in any manner, the original energy of preaching the Gospel. As to this, it is the more incumbent upon you, to provide proper and zealous Preachers, who may penetrate the recesses of the heart by the sound of the word of the Gospel. For there is danger, that the fruit of the Reformation now begun will be greatly diminished, unless attended with the most efficacious and zealous preaching of the word. It is not in vain said of Christ, *He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.* Is. xi. 4. This is doubtless the true means, by which he conquers us, when by the power of his word he destroys and casts out whatever in us is repugnant to his glory. Hence the Gospel is called the kingdom of God. Wherefore, though the edicts and civil establishments of Christian Princes are of great weight, in promoting and confirming the authority of Christianity, yet God has determined, in an appropriate manner, to exert his special power, by the spiritual sword of his word, which he has committed to the Pastors to be handled in the Church.

I proceed to the second head, concerning the abolishing and rooting out entirely of the abuses and corruptions, introduced by Satan, in former ages into the Church of God. It is evident, that the Christianity of Papacy is spurious and counterfeit; and will be condemned in the judgment of God at the last day, as it is so manifestly repugnant to his word. If it is your intention to withdraw the people from this gulph, you must follow the example of the Apostle. In treating of the restoration of the Lords's Supper to its proper use, he enjoins them to be united in removing those additions which had crept in among them: *I have received*, he says, *of the Lord that which, also, I delivered unto you.* 1 Cor. xi. 23. Hence we may deduce this general principle, that when we enter upon a lawful reformation, which may be acceptable to God, we must adhere to his pure and uncorrupted word; for all those mixtures, engendered in the human mind which remain, will be so many manifest pollutions, tending to withdraw men from the right use of those things, which God has instituted for their salvation. Religion cannot be said to be restored to its purity, while this sink of pollution is only partially drawn off, and a frightful form of Christianity is embraced for the pure and original faith. I speak thus definitely, as I understand that many think far otherwise; that abuses must be tolerated, and untouched, while they would only direct the grossest corruptions to be removed. In opposition to this, experience teaches, that the human mind is a soil fertile in false inventions, and that when sowed even with the smallest grain, as if all its powers combined, it yields an immense increase. The method which the scripture points out is far different. David, speaking of idols, said, *I will not even take up their names into my lips*, Psal. xvi. 4, that he might show how odious they were to him. When we reflect how grievously we have sinned against God in this manner, by remaining in ignorance, we ought to be the more deeply impressed, with the necessity of removing our standing as far as possible from all the fermentations of Satan.

What else were all those ceremonies, but so many allurements to entice and ensnare the miserable souls of men in evil; as if they were established for this very purpose? When we speak concerning caution, men must certainly be admonished, lest they dash against those rocks which the sins of their past life have, in this respect, disclosed to them. Who does not see, unless wholly hardened, that nothing can be obtained by this unhappy caution? Whatever of this nature is left untouched will operate like a strong leaven, to confirm them more resolutely in the evil, and serve as an interposing veil, to prevent the reception of the proposed doctrines, according to their purity and importance. I confess readily, that there should be moderation; and that extremes in reforming ceremonies would not be useful. Nor is too much simplicity to be adopted, as the order of worship is to be accommodated to the benefit and capacity of the people. But I am not less decided in affirming, that strict attention is to be given, lest, under this pretext of expediency, any of the inventions of Satan or Antichrist should be tolerated. Those expressions of scripture, in the history of many of the Kings of Judah, are here in point, *That when they took away the idols, they did not cut them off wholly by the roots.* They were condemned because they did not altogether destroy those high places, which we should call Chapels, dedicated to their foolish devotions.

Since, therefore, most noble Lord, God has conducted you thus far, endeavour, I beseech you, to deserve the name of the Reformer of his true Church; and to render this age, under the King your nephew, correspondent to the age of the most pious Josiah. Take heed to have every thing in religion established in its proper place, so that the King may have no other solicitude but to preserve the well regulated order. I will produce one example of those corruptions which, like leaven, will, in some measure, sour the whole service of the Lord's Supper. I understand, that with you, in the celebration of the Eucharist, *prayers for the dead are recited.* I am not however sufficiently informed, that this is designed as an approbation of the Popish purgatory. Nor am I ignorant, that the ancient custom of making mention of the dead, to declare the communion of all believers in one body, may be adduced as a vindication of it. But this invincible argument remains, that the Supper of the Lord is so wholly an ordinance that it is a crime to pollute it by any additions of men. Besides, when we call upon God, we are not to indulge our own passions, but to follow the rule of the Apostle, *that the word of God be our foundation.* Rom. x. But that commemoration of the dead, which embraces a veneration or commendation of them, does not correctly answer to the true and legitimate institution of prayer ; and is therefore an *assumentum, addition,* which should not be allowed at the Lord's Supper. There are some other things perhaps not equally to be condemned, but of such a nature as cannot be excused, as the *Chrism,* and the ceremony of *Unction.** The *Chrism* is indeed the frivolous invention of those who, through ignorance, were not contented with the institutions of the Lord, and who persuaded themselves, that the holy Spirit must be represented in baptism by the use of oil, as if the sign of water was not sufficient for that purpose. *Ex-*

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* Chrism—Oil consecrated by the Bishop and used in the Romish Church in the administration of baptism, confirmation, ordination and extreme unction. This last is called, in that Church, a sacrament ; and the oil is applied to the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, hands, feet, &c. of persons supposed to be near death. When the oil is applied to those parts, this prayer is used. By this holy unction, and his own most pious mercy, may the Almighty God forgive thee whatever sins thou hast committed, by the eyes, by the hearing, smelling, tasting, &c. &c. It is not considered so essential to salvation as baptism, and is not administered to children who are not capable of actual sin. Lexici Theologici novi, &c. p. 1756 and 1757. By this, the spiritual infirmities and actual sins are supposed to be taken away, as original sin is by baptism.

treme Unction emanated from the inconsiderate zeal of those, who were desirous of emulating the Apostles, although not endowed with the gift, which they possessed. When the Apostles made use of oil, in healing the sick, it was for the purpose of testifying the miracle of the cure by that visible sign. But when the gift of miraculous powers ceased, the use of that external anointing should also have been laid aside. All those things should be abolished at once, that nothing might be imposed on the Church of God, which is not conformable to his word, and which would not appertain to its edification. But so it is, the weak must be indulged, that they may be confirmed by degrees, and advanced to more excellent things. However, the work of reformation is not to be delayed, to satisfy the foolish in things which may please their fancy, unless supported by other substantial reasons. I know that many have been prevented from proceeding farther in this work from these considerations; that they feared a greater change would not be borne; and that respect must be had to the progress which others had made, with whom peace was to be cherished by passing over many things. This should certainly have an influence in the affairs of this life, in which we are permitted to give up our own rights, so far as the desire and love of peace demand. But the rule will not hold as to the discipline of the Church, which is spiritual, and in which nothing is lawful that is not according to the word of God. It is not at the pleasure of any mortal, to conform things, in this business, to gratify some and favour others, in opposition to the will of God. Nothing is more displeasing to him, than that human prudence should presume to oppose its calculations, either to moderate, abolish or retract any thing in religion, different from what his sovereign pleasure demands. Unless then we are willing to displease him, we must shut our eyes at once against all the desires of the flesh. And as to the dangers, which may appear to threaten us, we must labour to avoid them as much as in us lies, in that way only which is lawful and right. The promise of the Lord is, that he will be present with us, while we press forward in the right path. This one thing remains, that we strenuously discharge our duties, and commit the event to him. The only reason why the wise men of this world are so often frustrated, in their expectations, is that the Lord departs from them, inasmuch as they distrust his aid, and turn themselves to those artful means which God does not approve. If we would have the power of God to protect us, let us uprightly follow what he commands; and especially we must lay down this fundamental principle, that the reformation of the Church is the peculiar work of his hands; and that men, in all their endeavours, should give themselves up to be governed entirely by him. And what is of more consideration, is that the Lord commonly, both in reforming and preserving his Church, works in a manner, which attracts admiration by wholly surpassing all human apprehension. He will therefore, on no account, permit the work of the reformation of the Church, to be conducted after the model of our understandings, or that what is heavenly should be composed after the form of the wisdom of this world. I would not, however, exclude that upright prudence, the use of which is of great importance in this business, lest improper methods be adopted, and the preponderance be too great on the one hand or the other, even while we all might wish to benefit the cause. But I would have religious concerns directed by the prudence of the spirit, and not of the flesh; that we should enquire at the mouth of the Lord, pray that our understandings may be guided by his commands, and that he alone would lead and direct us in all things. In doing this, we shall easily destroy the various temptations which might delay us in the midst of our course.

Therefore, most noble Lord, as you have happily entered upon the entire restoration of the Christian religion, in the kingdom of England, not depending on your own strength, but on the powerful hand of God, who has hitherto strengthened and wonderfully established you, so determine to proceed with the same confidence. And certainly, since the Lord supports, by his Providence, so many kingdoms which oppose him, he will much more regard those which are rooted in him, and desire with all their efforts to take him for their supreme Lord.

I proceed to the third head, concerning suppressing vices and preventing scandals. I doubt not but that you have correct laws and commendable regulations, adapted to preserve the people in good morals. But the great *αταξια, confusion,* which I observe in the world, compels me to address you on this subject also; that you may apply yourself to such measures as may hold the community in subjection to good and honourable discipline. In the first place, you should maintain the honour of God, in punishing those crimes, the prosecution of which, with men, is usually accounted unnecessary. For while *theft*, *murder* and *robbery* are most severely punished, because they tend to injure men, *fornication, adultery, drunkennes and blasphemies of the name of God*, are justified as things allowable, or not deserving great severity. But God has pronounced far otherwise concerning these things. He shows how precious his name is in his sight, while it is cast out and trodden under foot with men. Nor can it be, that he will permit such horrid wickedness to go longer unpunished. We learn from the scripture, that for a single reproach against God, of the profane Kings Benhadad and Sennacherib, a dreadful judgment from him almost wholly overwhelmed both them and their armies. As it respects adultery, what a shame it is, that we, who bear the name of Christians, should be far more indifferent in punishing it than the Pagans themselves; and that crimes of this kind should be passed over with a jest. Is the sacred union of marriage, the living image of our most holy union with the Son of God, to be thus trifled with and polluted with impunity? Shall the most indissoluble of all human contracts be so perfidiously violated? Besides, fornication, if we regard the Apostle, is to be accounted as sacrilege, since our bodies, which are the temples of God, being thus manifestly polluted, are most basely cut off from the Spirit of God, and from Christ himself. Hence he adds, that fornicators and drunkards do not belong to the kingdom of God; and expressly interdicts believers, from all commerce with them. From this it follows, that such persons ought by no means to be tolerated in the Church of God. If these evils are wholly passed over, they will draw down the divine scourge, with which the whole earth is shaken; for when it is so, that men pardon one another such enormous crimes, they summon against themselves the vindictive hand of God. If you wish, my Lord, to avert the wrath of God, I beseech you to give the most attentive care, on your part, to suppress the commission of these sins; and to cause that those who profess Christianity may express and demonstrate the integrity of their profession, by a course of life correspondent to their holy vocation. For as the doctrine is like the soul to animate the Church, so discipline and the correction of vices ought to hold the place of those nerves, which cherish and preserve the body pure and vigorous. The Bishops and Curates should be especially attentive, lest the Lord's Supper be polluted, by the admission of those who are in ill repute on account of their scandalous lives. But it is above all your duty, since God has raised you to your station, for the purpose of taking care, that all the subjects, each one in his place and calling, apply their labours, and fulfil their respective duties, that the established order may be legitimately preserved.

I will not, my Lord, extend the prolixity of my letter, by excuses, nor by asking your pardon, for the freedom with which I have opened to you the sentiments of my heart. Your prudence will discern the sincerity of my intentions, and your knowledge of the scriptures will enable you, with facility, to ascertain the source from which I have drawn the preceding advice. I have no apprehension, that you will be disgusted, or account me too importunate, for having shown, as clearly as my slender capacity would allow, my affectionate desire that you may extensively glorify the name of God. For this I supplicate him daily, and entreat him, that he would enrich you with his accumulated gifts; confirm you by his Holy Spirit with true and invincible constancy; protect and support you against all adversaries; cover you and yours with his shield; and so prosper your administration, that the King may have reason to celebrate his praise for having provided, in his tender years, so able a Protector of himself and his kingdom. I close my letter, most humbly wishing you health and prosperity.

Your Excellency's most devoted,

JOHN CALVIN.

GENEVA, October 22, 1548.

LETTER XXXV.

CALVIN TO MELANCTHON.

It was a saying of the ancient Satirists, *Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum, If nature refuses, sorrow will make verses.* It turns out far otherwise with me. My present grief is so far from giving me animation, that it almost makes me speechless. Not only the power of utterance fails me, in expressing the feelings of my mind, but I am oppressed, and almost silenced by the consideration of the subject concerning which I am about to write. You must then imagine me rather to sigh than to speak. How greatly the adversaries of Christ rejoice at your controversy with the *Magdeburgenses*,* is too evident from their mockery and sneers. Those writers certainly afford a foul and detestable spectacle to God, and his Angels, and to the whole Church. In this business, my Philip, even if you were without fault, it would be the duty of your prudence and equity, to devise some remedy to heal the evil, or at least to afford some relief for mitigating its severity. But pardon me, if I do not wholly exculpate you from blame. From this, you may be able to conjecture, how severe judgments others pass upon you, and what unfavourable and scandalous observations they make about you. Permit me, therefore, my Philip, to perform the duty of a true friend, in freely admonishing you; and if I deal with you somewhat more sharply, do not impute it to a diminution of my former respect and affection for you. Although that will not be strange or unusual to you, I am, however, more apt to offend by a rustick simplicity, than to use adulation in favour of any man. I have experienced that nothing is more acceptable to you than ingenuousness, and therefore I labour under less anxiety, lest you should take it ill, even if any thing should justly displease you, in my reproof. I wish, indeed, that all your conduct, without exception, could be approved of by me and others. But I accuse you now to your face, that I may not be obliged to assent to the declarations of those who condemn you in your absence. This is the sum of your defence, *Modo retineatur doctrinæ puritas, de rebus externis non esse pertina-*

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* Matthias Flacius Illyricus left Wittemberg, and went to Magdeburg, in April, 1549, where he began writing against the Wittemberg Divines (Melancthon, &c.). This was the first introduction to that religious war, which opened the door for many evils, the termination of which, says Bucholtzer, in 1610, we have not yet seen. Bucholtzer Chronologia, anno 1549.

citer dimicandum, Only let the purity of doctrine be preserved, and we will not pertinaciously contend about external forms. Now, if what is every where asserted for fact is true, you extend *neutral and indifferent things* much too far. You know that the worship of God is corrupted a thousand ways among the Papists. We have removed the most intolerable corruptions. Now, the impious, that they may finish their triumph over the subjected Gospel, command them to be restored. If any one refuses to admit them, will you ascribe it to obstinacy? It is well known how far this would be from your moderation. If you have yielded too much for accommodation, you cannot be surprised if many impute it to you for a fault. Besides, some of those things, which you account *indifferent*, are manifestly opposed to the word of God. Perhaps others urge some things with too much precision; and, as is usual in controversies, represent others as odious, in which there is not so much evil. But, if I understand any thing of divine truth, you have yielded too much to the Papists; both because you have loosened those things which the Lord has bound by his word, and because you have given them an opportunity perversely to insult the Gospel. When circumcision was still allowable, do you see Paul, because some malicious and cunning men had laid snares for the liberty of the pious, obstinately denying that that ceremony was given to them of God? Does he not, therefore, boast that he had not yielded to them, even for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might remain entire with the Gentiles? Gal. ii. 4, 5. Our adversaries do not, at this day, trouble us about circumcision; but, lest they should leave us any thing sound, they endeavour to infect, with their polluted leaven, all the doctrines and exercises of religion. You say that the Magdeburgenses contend only concerning the *linen robe.* To what this might tend, I do not know, for the use of the linen robe, with many foolish ceremonies, has been, I conceive, retained hitherto, both *among yourselves*, and among them. But it is true that all honest and religious persons complain, that you have countenanced those gross corruptions, which evidently tend to vitiate the purity of the doctrines, and to weaken the stability of the Church. As, perhaps, you have forgotten what I formerly said to you, I will now recall it to your mind, *That ink is too dear to us, if we hesitate to testify those things by our hand-writing, which so many martyrs, from the common flock, daily seal with their blood.* I said, indeed, the same, when we appeared to be much farther from these assaults. Since, then, the Lord has drawn us out on the field of battle, it becomes us to contend the more courageously. Your station, you know, is different from that of most others. The trepidation of a General, or the leader of an army, is more ignominious than even the flight of common soldiers. All will condemn the wavering of so great a man as you are, as insufferable. Give, therefore, in future, a steady example of invincible constancy. By yielding a little, you have excited more complaints and lamentations, than the open desertion of an hundred, in an inferior station, would have produced. Although I am firmly persuaded, that you would never be compelled, by the fear of death, to turn aside in the least from an upright course; yet I suspect that possibly another kind of fear might exercise your mind. For I know how much you dread the impeachment of barbarous harshness. But you should remember, that the servants of Christ should never regard their reputation more than their lives. We are not better than Paul, who proceeded quietly through reproach and dishonour. It is, indeed, severe and painful, to be judged as obstinate and tempestuous men, who would wreck the whole world, rather than condescend to some moderation. Your ears should long since have become seasoned to these reproaches. You are not so unknown to me, nor am

I so unjust to you, as to suppose that you are eager, like ambitious men, for popular applause. I doubt not, however, but that you are sometimes discouraged by reflections like these;—*What!—Is it the part of a prudent and considerate man, to divide the Church on account of some minute and almost frivolous things? May not peace be redeemed by some indifferent inconvenience? What madness it is, so to defend every thing to the utmost, as to neglect the substance of the whole Gospel!*———When these and such like arguments were formerly made use of by artful men, I thought with myself, that you were more influenced by them than was right; and I now ingenuously open my mind to you, lest that truly divine magnanimity, with which, otherwise, you are richly endowed, should be impeded in its operation. The reason of this my earnestness is well known to you; that I would sooner die a hundred times with you, than see you survive the doctrine which you preach. I do not say this, apprehending any danger, lest the truth of God, made known by your ministry, should ever perish, or because I distrust, in any manner, your perseverance; but because you will never be solicitous enough in your watchfulness, lest the impious artfully take that opportunity of cavilling at the Gospel, which they will seize from your flexible disposition. Pardon me for unloading into your bosom these miserable although unavailing sighs. Farewell, most distinguished man, always sincerely respected by me. May the Lord continue to guide you by his Spirit, to support you by his grace, and defend you by his shield. Salute my friends, if there should be any with you. You have many here who respectfully salute you; for many, for the sake of avoiding idolatry, have fled from France into voluntary exile in this city.———

LETTER XXXVI.

CALVIN TO BUCER, wishes health.

Although your letter contained a mixture of good and bad news, it however gave me great satisfaction. I wish I could, in some measure at least, alleviate the sorrow of your mind, and those cares with which I perceive you are distressed. We all beseech you, again and again, not to wear yourself out without advantage. It is not, indeed, consistent with your piety, nor becoming, nor at all wished by us, that you should be cheerful and joyous, while there are such great and multiplied causes for mourning. You ought however, as much as possible, to preserve yourself for the Lord and the Church. You have, indeed, run a long race; but you know not how much still remains to you. Perhaps I, who have advanced but a small distance from the goal, am nearer the end of my race. The direction and termination of our course are in the hand of God. That I may be still more active, amidst the dangers which threaten me on every hand, I make use of the numerous deaths, which are daily taking place before my eyes. In England, you are exercised with battles, while in this city we cherish dilatory fears. I hope, however, that your internal commotions are settled, as report says, that you have a truce with the French. I wish the conditions of a lasting peace could be established; for we see the fencing master, who is exciting the two kingdoms against each other, laughing in idleness, and watching the fortune of both, that he may attack the victor, with all his strength, and spoil the conquered without labour or bloodshed; thus triumphing over both, he will seize them as his prey. But considering the corrupt counsels which govern France, I despair of this peace. They fear the Emperour beyond measure; but while they proudly despise others they are not aware of his cunning. The Lord is surely, by this blindness, punishing their atrocious cruelty against the pious, which, as I understand, daily increases. I wish, as impiety gathers strength and waxes more violent in France, that the English, by a rival spirit of emulation, would contend for the substance and purity of Christianity, until they see every thing established among them according to the perfect rule of Christ.

I have, as you wished, and as the present state of affairs required, endeavoured to exhort the *Lord Protector*. It will be your duty to insist, by all means, if you can obtain an audience, which I am persuaded you may, that the ceremonies which savour in the least of superstition should be abolished from the publick service. This I expressly recommend to you, that you may free yourself from that reproach, with which you know many have unjustly loaded you; for the adviser of publick measures is always considered as their author, or at least approver. This suspicion is so strongly fixed in the mind of some, that you will not easily erase it with your utmost exertions. Some maliciously calumniate you, without any cause. This is an evil in some measure without remedy, and you will not be able wholly to escape its influence. Care must be taken to give no cause of suspicion to the ignorant, nor any pretext for calumny to the wicked. I regret very much, that N—— is so troublesome to you without cause. I could wish him to learn some humanity. I more easily pardon him, as he appears to be carried away, not so much by his perverseness, as by a blind impulse to be observed. You cannot conceive how atrociously he abuses us and our innocent and absent friends. He inveighed especially against Viret, who was undeservedly oppressed by the iniquity of some, and the perfidy of others. He violently pursued him, as he would the most abandoned betrayer of the Church. He would certainly accustom himself to mildness, if he observed the noxious intemperance of his too fervid zeal and immoderate austerity. This indignity you must receive, with other evils, with your accustomed equanimity. The Church of Zurich would not approve his cause. On this subject, I disagree with you, as you think we injure our adversaries. You suppose that they never so grossly blundered, as to imagine that the body of Christ was extended every where. But you forget what Brentius among others has written, that Christ, when he lay in the manger, was glorious in heaven, *etiam secundum corpus, even bodily*. That I may speak more openly, you know that the doctrine of the Papists is more modest and sober, than that of *Amsdorf** and his followers, who were as infatuated as the Priestess of Apollo. You know how inhumanly Melancthon was treated, because he maintained some moderation. These deliriums necessarily drew with them idolatry. For what purpose is the sacrament of Luther to be adored, unless that an idol might be erected in the Church of God? I have earnestly desired, that all these things might be buried. I have constantly insisted also, with the greatest firmness among our neighbours,† that they should abstain from all invectives. To satisfy them, I have not hesitated to condemn all those errours, without calling them by name, to which I could by no means give my assent. Concerning the word *place*, you certainly appear to argue with too much subtilty. The obscurity more severely offends others, which they say you artfully and designedly used. I am confident, however, that in this respect they err. But I do not see why you so diligently avoid what we teach, *since Christ is said to have ascended into Heaven;* by which expression we understand *distance of places* to be expressed. We do not dispute whether there is *a place* in celestial glory, but whether *the body of Christ is in this world.* Since this question is clearly determined by the scriptures, I do not hesitate to embrace it for an article of my faith. And yet, as you will find it in our book, it was granted to the moroseness of some, not without opposition; for I had tempered the expressions otherwise. As this formula which we had used contained nothing but what I thought was true, religion did not require that it should be given up for others. You piously and prudently wish, that the effect of the sacraments, and what God confers through them, should be explained more clearly and copiously than many will endure. The fault does not lie with me, that some things were not more distinctly illustrated. Let us lament and still submit to those things which we are not permitted to correct. You will have enclosed in this letter a copy of the writing which they remitted to me. The two points which you feared they would reject, they willingly embraced. If others had followed the mildness of *Bullinger,* I should have easily obtained every thing I wished. It is well, however, that we agree in the truth, and hold unitedly the chief doctrines of religion. If you had accommodated *your Theses* a little only in two points, you would have rendered them most appropriate. You should have stated distinctly, *That Christ is bodily separated from us who are in this world, by the distance of places:* You should have rejected decidedly *all the inventions, by which the minds of men are hitherto drawn into superstition; and expressly vindicated the glory of the Holy Spirit and of Christ, so that their efficacy should not be transferred to the Ministers, or the elements.*

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* Nicholas Amsdorf died in 1541. He was a rigid adherent of Luther, and extravagantly asserted, *that good works were an impediment to salvation*. He was distinguished for his opposition to the Papists, and his controversy with Melancthon, who laboured to check this violent man, and to set the truth about good works in a proper light. Rees' Cyclopedia.

† The Helvetick Churches, Zurich, &c.

The commencement of the conference, for establishing the union of opinion, presented nothing but despair. The light suddenly shone forth. The most eminent members, on their part, were desirous to communicate with other Churches. We cheerfully consented. The dissension of N—— must be borne with an equal mind. Farel will write you a copious letter. Viret does not presume to write. You cannot conceive how unjustly he is treated. He salutes you most affectionately, and begs you to excuse him. My colleagues salute you with respect. There is nothing new here, except that Zurich and Bern have cut off all hopes of a league with France. Farewell, most beloved man, and my much respected father in the Lord.————

LETTER XXXVII.

N—— TO CALVIN.

Grace and peace from our Lord. I need very much the consolation of your letters. For although I am not without good friends and brethren in the Lord, yet I am very anxious to know what my old friends and tried colleagues are about; and with what agreement and success the work of the Lord proceeds among them. I am also very desirous that they would advise, console and exhort me. Those things which are occasionally written to me from my country, and other parts of Germany, greatly agitate my mind. Besides, the affairs of Christ are in such a situation here, that unless the Lord should regard, with singular clemency, our most amiable and religious King, and some other pious men, it is greatly to be feared, that the awful wrath of God will be shortly enkindled against this kingdom. The Bishops have not yet been able to agree among themselves, concerning the doctrine of Christ, and much less concerning the discipline. Very few parishes have proper Pastors, and most of them are sold to noblemen. Some of the ecclesiastical order, and those too who would appear to be evangelical, hold three or four or more parishes, and yet perform ministerial duty in none of them; but content themselves with substituting those who are unwilling to be controlled by any rules, most of whom are unable even to read English, and are at heart mere rank Papists. The heads of government have placed those over many parishes, who had been in monasteries, that they might free themselves from paying them a pension. These are mostly very ignorant, and totally unqualified for the sacred ministry. Hence you may find parishes in which no sermon has been preached for some years. Mere edicts, and the removal of the appendages of superstition, you well know, will not effect the restitution of the kingdom of Christ. Each of the Universities has many excellent Colleges, provided with ample funds, and many good laws, superior to any Universities in the world. A great number of students, above a hundred in most of them, are well educated, and have an honourable pecuniary allowance for their clothing and books. From these a successive number of faithful Ministers ought to be furnished to the Churches; for all the Masters of Arts are obliged to study theology, with the exception of only four, in each College, two of whom are bound to study medicine, and two the profession of law. The sufferance of that former abuse has now gained such great strength, that much the greater part of the Fellows are violent Papists, or dissolute Epicureans. They make every exertion to entice the youth to their systems, and to imbue their minds with a hatred of the sound doctrines and discipline of Christ. Our Ministers are so sparing of their sermons, that they did not preach, excepting one or two Sabbaths, during the whole of Lent, which as yet they would appear to observe, as the time of the death and resurrection of Christ; nor do they hold any meeting of the people this day. Besides, most of our parish Ministers recite the service, and administer the Supper in such a manner, that the people understand about as much concerning the mysteries of Christ, as they would if they still used the Latin, and not the vernacular tongue. When complaints of this most awful deficiency in the Churches are preferred, by pious men, to the heads of government, they say that it is the business of the Bishops to remedy these evils. When the complaints are carried to the Bishops, who lately embraced the Gospel, they answer that they cannot correct them, unless authorized by a publick law of the kingdom. But, notwithstanding the great Councils of the kingdom are holden annually, civil questions have been so multiplied, that the cause of Christ could find no place for a hearing. Then they committed the deliberation of these things to so many persons of different opinions, that all of them cannot be assembled together at one time for this purpose, nor establish any thing correct and substantial on so many important questions. This delay of the cause of Christ is, in a great measure, the consequence of the efforts of many Bishops, who are more attached to the idleness and pomp of Antichrist, than to the cross of Christ. Connected with these are many active noblemen, who have enriched themselves by the goods of the Church, and who think that the pillaging of the Churches will be more profitable than piously reforming them. In addition to these evils, not a few reject all regard to repentance, faith, good works, and the communion and discipline of the Church; and they dispute and contend, and often with much impiety, for those doctrines alone, which will require less regard for true piety in the participation of Christ through the holy Supper. These are principally the followers of those leaders, who zealously write and assert, that it is fanaticism to attempt to reform the discipline of the Church; that those who sin openly should be bound to perform penance, and that being done, they should be absolved from that bond, and receive the absolution of the Church formally from all sins connected with scandal. Thus they permit themselves to give any interpretations of the word of God, even of the most luminous passages, which their prudence, or rather their pride, suggests to them; to say nothing of the influence of the hatred which they bear to those who teach correctly the true doctrines.

I write these things thus freely to you, my beloved Calvin, that you may pray more intensively for these Churches; and when you shall write to the Duke of Somerset, that you may admonish him more seriously concerning this pillaging and betraying of the Churches, which are, with very few exceptions, entrusted to those who neither know nor care any thing about Christ. I request of you, that no one read this letter, except Farel and Viret. You well know how injurious it would be, that these things should be made publick, and above all by us. Multiply your prayers for his Majesty the King, whose proficiency in the study of science and literature is wonderful. The danger to which he is exposed you can easily imagine, as the Papists are every where greatly enraged, since they see and know, that the King is yet exerting all his powers to restore the kingdom of Christ. They know, too, that his eldest sister most pertinaciously adopts and defends Popery, whether influenced by her disposition or confidence in her cousin. Our indifference in the work of building the kingdom of Christ deserves these dangers, and naturally excites the endeavours of our adversaries.

Give thanks to God with me, that he has, in a great measure, delivered me from my sickness, which again attacked me most seriously about the middle of March. I am able, with some difficulty, to perform the duties of my office;

though my limbs are weak, and my hands so feeble that I write with difficulty. Beseech the Lord, that he may free me from these difficulties, and make me, in some degree, useful in his Church; and that he would glorify his holy name in me, in whatever way he pleases. The best farewell to you and all yours, to the excellent Farel and Viret, and your other colleagues of like worth.

CAMBRIDGE, the day of Pentecost, 1550.*

LETTER XXXVIII.

CALVIN TO BULLINGER. (Extracts.)

My Commentaries on Isaiah, and the canonical Epistles, have been lately printed. I dedicated them both to the King of England, and I added some private letters, in which I endeavoured to stir up the excellent disposition of the young Prince.——News is arrived that Hooper is confined in prison. I would have preferred, as I advised him, that he should not contend so much about the *linen robe* and *mitre*, though I do not approve of them.

March, 1551.

It is a favourable circumstance, that our opinions have so perfectly coincided in exhorting the King of England and his Counsellours to proceed in the work. By the messenger who carried my books and letters to the King, I also wrote to the Duke of Somerset, and exhorted him to protect Hooper.

April, 1551.

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* The above letter bears internal proof of being written by *Paul Fagius*, who was then at Cambridge. He was a German, and succeeded Wolfgang Capito, in the Professorship of Theology at Strasburg, where he continued till he came into England with Bucer, 1549.

LETTER XXXIX.

Thomas Cranmer to Calvin, Salutem precatur.

As nothing tends more to separate the Churches of God than heresies and differences about the doctrines of religion, so nothing more effectually unites them, and fortifies more powerfully the fold of Christ, than the uncorrupted doctrine of the Gospel, and union in received opinions. I have often wished, and now wish, that those learned and pious men, who excell others in erudition and judgment, would assemble in some convenient place, where, holding a mutual consultation, and comparing their opinions, they might discuss all the heads of ecclesiastical doctrine, and agree not only concerning the things themselves, but the forms of expression, and deliver to posterity some work, with the weight of their authority. Our adversaries are now holding their Council at Trent, that they may establish their errours. And shall we neglect to call together a pious Synod, that we may be able to refute their errours, and to purify and propagate the true doctrines? They, as I hear, are making decrees περι της αρτολατρειας, *about the worship of the bread.* We ought therefore to make every effort, not only to fortify others against this idolatry, but that we also ourselves might agree on the doctrine of this sacrament. How much the dissensions and variety of opinions, about this sacrament of union, weaken the Church of God, cannot escape your prudence. Although these differences may, in some places, be removed, yet I wish an agreement in this doctrine, not only about the things themselves, but also about the words and forms of expression. You have my ardent wishes, concerning which I have written to Melancthon and Bullinger, and I beg you to deliberate among yourselves, in what manner this Synod can most conveniently be assembled. Farewell.

Your most beloved brother in Christ,

THOMAS, of Canterbury.

LAMBETH, March 20, 1552.

LETTER XL.

CALVIN TO CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, wishes health.

Illustrious Sir, You prudently judge, that in this confused state of the Church, no remedy more appropriate can be applied, than that pious and resolute men, exercised in the school of God, should meet among themselves, and publickly profess their agreement in the doctrines of religion. We see by how many arts Satan is endeavouring to destroy the light of the Gospel, which has arisen by the wonderful goodness of God, and is extending its beams in every direction. The mercenary parasites of the Pope do not cease their railing, to prevent the preaching of the pure word of Christ. Licentiousness so much prevails, and impiety has so increased, that religion is but a little removed from publick mockery. Those who are not the professed enemies of the Gospel are even now affected by that lascivious impudence, which will shortly, unless counteracted, produce among us the most shameful confusion. It is not merely among the ignorant class of men, that this feverish and foolish curiosity and immoderate impudence reign; but what is more shameful, it is much too prevalent among the order of Pastors. It is too well known, with what delusive madness Osiander deceives himself, and fascinates some others. The Lord, indeed, as he has done from the beginning of the world, can wonderfully, in ways unknown to us, preserve the unity of the true faith, and prevent its destruction from the dissensions of men. It is his will however, that those whom he has appointed to watch should by no means sleep; as he has determined, by the labours of his ministring servants, to purge the pure doctrine in the Church, from all corruptions, and to transmit it unblemished to posterity. It is especially your duty, most accomplished Prelate, as you sit more elevated in the watch-tower, to continue your exertions for effecting this object. I do not say this, to stimulate you afresh; as you have already, of your own accord, preceded others, and voluntarily exhorted them to follow your steps. I would only confirm you in this auspicious and distinguished labour by my congratulation. We have heard of the delightful success of the Gospel in England. I doubt not, but you have experienced the same trials, which Paul met with in his time: that the door being opened for the pure doctrine, many adversaries suddenly rise up against its reception. I know you have among you many advocates, capable of refuting the falsehoods of the adversary; but still, the wickedness of those, who exert all their arts to make disturbance, proves that the most intense sedulity of the good will neither be too ardent nor superfluous. I know moreover, that your *purpose* is not confined to England alone; but, at the same moment, you consult the benefit of all the world. The generous disposition and uncommon piety of his Majesty, the King, are justly to be admired, as he is pleased to favour this holy *purpose* of holding such a Council, and offers a place for its session in his kingdom. I wish it might be effected, that learned and stable men, from the principal Churches, might assemble in some place, and, after discussing with care each article of faith, deliver to posterity, from their general opinion of them all, the clear doctrines of the scriptures. It is to be numbered among the evils of our day, that the Churches are so divided one from another, that there is scarcely any friendly intercourse strengthened between us; much less does that holy communion of the members of

Christ flourish, which all profess with the mouth, but few sincerely regard in the heart. But if the principal teachers conduct themselves more coldly than they ought, it is principally the fault of the Princes who, involved in their secular concerns, neglect the prosperity and purity of the Church; or each one, contented with his own security, is indifferent to the welfare of others. Thus it comes to pass, that the members being divided, the body of the Church lies disabled.

Respecting myself, if it should appear that I could render any service, I should with pleasure cross ten seas, if necessary, to accomplish that object. Even if the benefit of the kingdom of England only was to be consulted, it would furnish a reason sufficiently powerful with me. But as in the Council proposed, the object is to obtain the firm and united agreement of learned men to the sound rule of scripture, by which Churches now divided may be united with each other, I think it would be a crime in me to spare any labour or trouble to effect it. But I expect my slender ability to accomplish this will furnish me with sufficient excuse. If I aid that object by my prayers, which will be undertaken by others, I shall discharge my part of the business. Melancthon is so far from me, that our letters cannot be exchanged in a short time. Bullinger has perhaps answered you before this. I wish my ability was equal to the ardency of my desires. But what I at first declined, as unable to accomplish, I perceive the very necessity of the business now compels me to attempt. I not only exhort you, but I conjure you, to proceed, until something shall be effected, if not every thing you could wish. Farewell, most accomplished Prelate, sincerely respected by me. May the Lord go on to guide you by his Spirit, and bless your holy labours.——GENEVA.

LETTER XLI.

Calvin to Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Salutem dicit

Since we can by no means expect at this time, what we so much desired, that the principal Doctors, from those Churches which have embraced the pure doctrines of the Gospel, should assemble, and from the word of God publish a definite and luminous Confession concerning all the points now controverted; I very much approve, Reverend Sir, of your design, that the English should maturely determine their religion among themselves: that the minds of the people may no longer remain in suspense about unsettled doctrines, or rites less determined than they ought to be. It is especially your business, and that of all those who have the government in their hands, to unite your exertions to effect this object. You see what your station requires, and more imperiously demands of you, in return for the office which you hold by his favour. The chief authority is in your hand, confirmed both by the greatness of the honour, and the long established opinion concerning your prudence and integrity. The eyes of the better part are turned upon you, that they may follow your motions, or grow torpid under the pretext of your negligence. I wish they had followed you as a leader more than three years since, and avoided the present numerous contests for removing gross superstitions. I confess indeed, that since the time the Gospel has seriously flourished in England, the acquisitions have been great. But if you consider how much remains to be done, and how much delay there has been in many things, you will hasten to the goal, as if a great part of your course was yet to be finished. I do not give you this admonition to assiduity in the work, lest you should indulge yourself as though it was accomplished; but to speak freely, I greatly fear, and this fear is constantly recurring to my mind, that so many autumns will be past in delaying, that the cold of a perpetual winter will succeed. The more you advance in years, the more vigorously you ought to excite yourself to action; lest leaving the world in *this confused state of things,* great anxiety should distress you from a consciousness of negligence. I call it *a confused state of things;* for the external superstitions have been so imperfectly corrected, that the innumerable remaining suckers unremittingly germinate. Indeed I hear that of the corruptions of Popery such a mass remains, as not only to obscure, but almost destroy the pure and genuine worship of God. At the same time, the spirit of all ecclesiastical discipline is breathless, at least the preaching of the Gospel does not flourish as it ought. Sound religion certainly will never prevail, until the Churches are better provided with qualified Pastors, who may seriously discharge the office of Teachers. That this may not take place, Satan opposes his secret arts. But I understand that one manifest obstacle is, that the revenues of the Church are exposed for pillage. This is truly an intolerable evil. Besides this waste, which is too gross, another evil, not much lighter, is that idle fellows are fed upon the publick income of the Church, that they may chant their *vespers* in an unknown tongue. I say nothing more, as it is more than absurd, that you should be an approver of these reproaches which are in open opposition to the legitimate order of the Church. I doubt not but these things often occur to your mind, and are suggested to you by that best and most excellent man, Peter Martyr, whose advice it gives me pleasure to hear that you use. The many arduous difficulties, with which you have to struggle, appeared to me a sufficient reason for my exhortation. Farewell, excellent Prelate. May the Lord long preserve you safe; enrich you more and more with the spirit of prudence and fortitude, and bless all your labours. Amen.

LETTER XLII.

Hooper to Calvin, Salutation.

I doubt not, most excellent man, that you have heard by the letters of your friends, the affairs in England, and the state of the kingdom; also that our most pious King has paid the debt of nature, I make no doubt, on account of our sins. His death was followed by a most miserable throng of calamities. Altars are every where erected in the kingdom; private masses are held in estimation in most places; all the service in the Churches is performed in Latin. Pious men fear for themselves. The Ministers of the Churches, and all who have freely taught Christ, expect death. We ask the prayers of your Church, and of all pious people, that we may seek the glory of Christ with cheerful and unbroken courage, and suffer that most glorious death for his name.

Tuæ pietatis studiosissimus, most desirous of your piety.

JOHN HOOPER, Bishop of Worcester.

London, from the prison, September 3, 1553.

LETTER XLIII.

Melancthon to Calvin, wishes health.

Reverend and beloved brother, I should write to you often, if I had any trusty letter carrier. I would prefer, however, to have a conversation with you, on many points of the greatest moment; as I hold your judgment in high estimation, and know the integrity of your mind, and your most perfect candour. I now live ωσπεϱ ’ονος εν σφηκιαις,—*like an ass among wasps.* But perhaps I shall shortly be called, from this mortal life, to the more perfect society of heaven.

I hear that Francis Dryander has passed the summer with you. If I live, I must expect another banishment. And if I am forced to leave Wittemberg, I am determined to have a conference with you. The study of theology has become indifferent in these parts. The pursuits of science are now impeded by the plague and the wars. I often sigh and deplore the causes of this madness in our Rulers. I also beseech the Son of God, to mitigate and remove the causes of these calamities. If you wish to write to me more frequently, you will have opportunities of forwarding your letters to Francis Dryander. On the leaf enclosed, I have written the concise history of this autumn. Farewell. October 1, 1552.

THE HISTORY.

I am now answering that Gorgon of an Osiander. Three Turkish Bashaws have entered *Pannonia*, *Hungary*, with two armies. They have recently occupied some towns of distinction, and cut to pieces the army of King Ferdinand. Maurice, Duke of Saxony, is now gone to Austria to lead an army against the Turks. At this time, Albert, Marquis of Brandenberg, is laying waste the neighbourhood of Nuremberg, having distressed Frankfort, and pillaged the towns in the Bishoprick of Mentz and Treves. The army of the King of France are advancing to Liege. The Emperour Charles has collected his forces at Spires, in order to overthrow the Marquis and the King of the Gauls. In Saxony, the son of Albert, Count of Mansfield, has collected an army near Bremen, and is approaching the places in our neighbourhood, that he may recover his dominions, and disturb the whole country. Thus throughout Germany there is nothing but devastation. The Churches are in grief and mourning; the pursuits of literature languish; the strength of those who are seditiously exclaiming about liberty is encreasing. I congratulate you for your tranquillity, and pray God that he would be gracious towards us, and remove our calamities.

PHILIP.

LETTER XLIV.

CALVIN TO MELANCTHON.

Nothing could be more agreeable to me at this time than the reception of your letter of the month before last. To my great labours, which sufficiently perplex me, there is scarce a day which does not add some fresh cause for grief or anxiety. I should soon faint under the load of evils, with which I am oppressed, if the Lord was not pleased to alleviate their severity by his remedies; among which this is not a small one, in my estimation, that I know you are in usual health, as much so as your age and delicate constitution will admit; and that your letter has convinced me, that your love for me is not at all diminished. I have been told, that you were so much offended at some of my too free admonitions, which however ought to have produced a very different effect, that you tore my letter to pieces before several witnesses. The person who related this was not indeed worthy of much credit; but as it appeared to be confirmed by various signs for a long time, I was at length constrained to suspect that some part of it might be true. From your letter I have now learned most fully, that our union still remains unimpaired; which certainly ought to be forever sacred and inviolable, as its origin was from a similar affection for piety. It is our highest interest, that the friendship which God has consecrated, by the tokens of his authority, should be cherished with confidence and constancy even until death; as in this friendship the Church is deeply concerned. You see how many eyes are turned upon us.

The wicked will captiously seize from our differences a handle for their reproaches; and the weak among us will be disturbed even by our most trivial opposition. It is of consequence also, that posterity should have no grounds to suspect that there was any incipient discord between us. It would be extremely absurd, after having been compelled to separate from all the world, that we should, at the very threshhold, break away from each other. I know and freely confess, that I am far from being equal to you; still I am not ignorant of the elevation to which God has raised me among his people; and there is no reason that I should dissemble with you my opinion, that our friendship cannot be violated without a great injury to the Church. Even if we had no other reason, estimate from your own sensibility, how distressing it would be to me, to be cut off from the man, whom I affectionately love and revere; and whom God has rendered conspicuous to his whole Church, by magnificently adorning him with singular gifts, and appointing him prime Minister for the management of the chief concerns of his kingdom. It is certainly a wonderful and uncommon stupidity, that we should despise so easily that sacred union between us, which would become the celestial Angels to bear to each other on earth. In the mean time, the adversary continues to prepare on every hand the causes of discord. From our negligence, he takes occasion to accumulate his materials; and will soon provide his instruments for enkindling and fanning the fires.

I will relate what has taken place in this Church, to the great grief of all the pious. A year has already elapsed since we have been troubled with these contests. Some unprincipled men raised a controversy with us concerning the gratuitous election of God, and the miserable servitude of the human will; and for exciting a publick tumult, they found nothing more plausible, in their opposition to us, than the pretext of your name. When they had ascertained, that we were promptly prepared to refute whatever specious devices they threw out, they invented this artifice, by which they expected to overpower us, unless we would publickly separate from you. But we observed such moderation, that they wholly failed in extorting from us what they had so artfully pursued. My colleagues then with me declared, that we adhered to the same scope in doctrines, as that by which you were guided. Not a word was dropped in the whole dispute, but what was justly respectful, and tended to establish confidence in you. It was, however, the fact, that I was severely pained with the silent thought, that after our death, corrupt men will be furnished with occasion of troubling the Church, as often as they please, while they bring into controversy the opposite opinions of those, who should, for the sake of example, have professed one and the same thing, in the same words.

That Osiander has withdrawn himself from us, or rather, by a violent assault, made his escape, is neither a matter of surprise nor much regret. You long since experienced, that he was one of those wild animals which can never be tamed. From the day I first saw him, I always considered him as disgraceful to the cause; and I detested him as a man of profane disposition and corrupt morals. Whenever he wished to praise sweet and generous wine, he had these words in his mouth—"I am who I am"—or—"This is the Son of the living God"—which betrayed a manifest mockery of God. Hence I have often been more astonished, that even your general moderation should cherish such a brutal man: especially I was so when I read in a preface of yours that passage where you praise him extravagantly, even after the specimen he gave us of his insanity at Worms. But let him go; he ought to be most perfectly cut off from us.* There are some others whom I should prefer to have retained. But I will omit all these things. It is no small grief to me, that our method of teaching is manifestly observed to be too discordant. I am not ignorant, that if we yield to human authority, it would be more reasonable for me to accede to you, than for you to conform to my opinion. But we are not to be guided by human authority; nor is this even to be wished from the pious Ministers of Christ. We are bound, on all hands, to seek conformity to the pure truth of God. Now I candidly confess, that religion prevents me from acceding to you on this point of doctrine; as you appear to me to dispute too metaphysically concerning the freedom of the will: and in treating of election, you have no object, but to accommodate yourself to the common apprehension of mankind. For it cannot be attributed to an oversight, that a man of your acuteness, caution and thorough knowledge of the scriptures, should confound the election of God, with those promises which are common to all—*quæ sunt universæ.* Nothing is more evident, than that the preaching of the word is promiscuously common to all persons; but that the SPIRIT of Faith is given by special privilege to the elect alone. The promises are common to all without exception. How then does it come to pass, that their efficacy does not equally manifest itself in all? Truly, because God does not reveal his arm to all. Nor does this point require proof with those who are tolerably versed in the scriptures, since the promises offer the grace of Christ equally to all, and God invites, by an outward call, whosoever will, to salvation; yet faith is a special gift. It appears to me that this whole question, although embarrassed and intricate, is clearly explained in a work I have lately published.* The question is so plain, that no one of sound understanding will believe, that your disagreement is from the conviction of your own mind. At the same time, it increases my anxiety and sorrow, because I know that on this point you almost entirely differ from yourself. For I hear, when you received the formula of our union with the Church of Zurich, taking a pen you erased the sentence, which cautiously and soberly distinguishes the elect from the reprobate. This was totally different from your usual moderation, not to say more. I do not therefore ask you to make even the attempt to read my treatise, as I apprehend it would be useless. I wish we might have an interview to converse on these things. I know your candour, frankness and moderation; and your piety is manifested to the world and to Angels. I trust therefore, that this whole matter would be easily explained between us. If an opportunity should offer, I should be highly gratified in visiting you. But if what you fear should happen,† it will be a great consolation to me, in this wretched and mournful state of affairs, to see and embrace you before our departure from this world.

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* Mosheim states, that arrogance and singularity were the principal lines in Osiander's character. Melancthon, in his letter to Calvin, calls him a *Gorgon,* who had dangling vipers for hair, and petrified others by his aspect. He treated Melancthon with the grossest language of satire and illiberality. Melancthon's letter to Calvin is dated Oct. 1, 1552. Osiander died Oct. 17, but Calvin had not heard of his death when he wrote the above letter in November.

We are far from enjoying that tranquillity which you suppose. In this city, there are many labours, difficulties and tumults. Our enemies are in sight, from whom new dangers threaten us. We are only five hours journey from Burgundy. One may come in less than an hour from the French dominions to the gates of Geneva. But as nothing is more happy than to fight under the standard of Christ, these difficulties must not deter you from visiting us. In the mean time, you will do me a favour, by informing me of your situation and the general condition of your Church. Farewell, illustrious man, and sincerely respected brother. May the Lord protect you with his shield, direct you with his Spirit, and bless your holy labours. My colleagues and many pious and discreet men respectfully salute you.

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* Calvin's Treatise, concerning the eternal election of God was published in 1551. See Tract. Theol. Cal. p. 593.

† Calvin here alludes to an apprehension which Melancthon had of being driven into exile.

Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

GENEVA, November 29, 1552.

LETTER XLV.

CALVIN TO SIR JOHN CHEKE.

I have hitherto deferred writing to you, most excellent Sir, lest I should appear to seek something for which I had no inclination. Most of the friendships of the world are specious, and influenced by ambition and vanity. Few cherish sincerity; and few deserve our confidence, whose probity has not been tried. I have already often ventured to write to the King, to whom I have, with other servants of Christ, found access, by your care, under Providence. For having hitherto omitted to write to you, I have a ready excuse. I apprehended that those, at whose request I wrote to him, would imagine that I had not sufficient confidence in them, if I entrusted the delivery of my letters to others; besides, there was no such familiarity between us, as would warrant me in giving you that trouble. If I have erred in this, you will be pleased to impute it to my modesty, rather than my negligence. I have long since been induced to esteem you highly, from the fame of your eminent piety and distinguished learning. This one circumstance is sufficient to conciliate to you the minds of all good men, that while England has a King of the most amiable disposition, you have, by your labour, formed him to such a maturity of virtue, beyond his age, that he has extended his hand to the troubled and most afflicted Church, in these unhappy times. Surely the Lord, in dignifying you with this honour, has not only bound those to you who reap the immediate fruit of your labours, but all those who desire the Church of God to be restored, or the remnants of it to be collected. In testifying the esteem for you, which I have silently cherished with myself, I am persuaded that I shall not render you an unpleasant service. In the splendour of your fortune, you have no occasion for my personal assistance; and, being contented with my humble condition, I would not, for my own sake, lay any additional burden upon you; but I would have a mutual good will cherished between us in this transitory life, until we shall enjoy substantial blessedness in Heaven. In the mean time, let us labour to adorn, and, as much as in us lies, to extend and support the kingdom of Christ. We see the numerous, open and infectious enemies, whose fury is daily increased and inflamed. And of the number of those, who have given their names to the Gospel, how few labour with integrity to maintain the glory of God? How much coldness, or rather how much slothfulness, prevails among most of the chief men; and finally, how great is the stupidity of the world? Your willing exertions require no foreign excitements, and I trust you will take in good part those things I have suggested, as proper for each one assiduously to apply to himself. But this I expressly ask of you, That if at any time you shall judge, that his Majesty the King may be excited by my expostulations, you will be pleased to advise and give counsel as the case may require. Farewell, most excellent and highly respected man. May the Lord guide you by his power, &c.

GENEVA, February 13, 1553.

LETTER XLVI.

MELANCTHON TO CALVIN.

Reverend and dear brother, I have read your book, in which you have clearly refuted the horrid blasphemies of Servetus ; and I give thanks to the Son of God, who was the βραβευτης, *the awarder of your crown of victory*, in this your combat. To you also the Church owes gratitude at the present moment, and will owe it to the latest posterity. I perfectly assent to your opinion. I affirm also, that your Magistrates did right in punishing, after a regular trial, this blasphemous man. You advised me, in your last letter, to repress the ignorant clamours of those, who are reviving the controversy περι αρτολατρειας, *about the worship of the bread ;* but I must inform you, that this dispute is kept up by some individuals, out of mere hatred to me, that they may have a plausible ground for oppressing me. I have conversed much, with learned and good men, on the many disputes which this one controversy embraces, concerning the properties of the Divine Persons, of the manifestation of God *by the Word and the Spirit*, in true conversion or consolation. About these things, which are of so great importance, I am very desirous to confer with you, whom I know to be a lover of truth, and to have a mind free from hatred and other unreasonable passions. *From the light of the Father*, says Nazianzen, *we receive the light, the Son, by the light, the Holy Ghost.* Εκ φωτος του Πατρος, φως καταλαμβάνομεν τον Υιον, εν φωτι τω Πνευματι Αγιω. Although there are but few sayings of this writer, concerning that knowledge of God which shines forth in true consolation, yet I am delighted with this saying, which I insert in this letter, because I believed it would be also agreeable to you. But this is nothing to the purpose *about the worship of the bread.* I do not despair of having a conversation with you on this subject, before my soul departs from this mortal prison. For although, on account of my age, I am not far distant from the end of my course, yet I am daily expecting to be again sent into exile. But I pray our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified for us, and rose again the keeper of his Church, to govern and direct you and all of us. Farewell, my dearest brother.

October 14, 1554.

LETTER XLVII.

CALVIN TO MELANCTHON, salutem dicit.

Your letter, my dear sir, gave me great satisfaction, not only because every thing that comes from you is dear to me, but because from it I understand, that the affection with which you embraced me, at our first acquaintance, still remains fixed in your heart. And especially, as you commend, with a sufficient eulogy, my endeavours to expunge the impious heresy of Servetus. From this letter I learn also, that you were not offended by the plainness and freedom of my admonitions. I wish, however, that you had treated more fully on the subject on which I wrote. I will not importunately urge you; but as far as you can with peace, I exhort you, again and again, to examine, at least with yourself, those things about which I wrote you. For, in this way, I trust you will endeavour, that some more definite form of teaching, concerning the gratuitous election of believers, than heretofore, may be agreed upon between us. *About the worship of the bread*, I have long since known the secret opinion of your mind, which you do not dissemble in your letter. But your too great tardiness displeases me, by which you not only cherish but augment the madness of those, whom you see pursuing daily, with such petulance, the destruction of the whole Church. It may not seem easy to you to restrain those violent men, yet I think it would be a light matter, if you would boldly attempt it. You know that our duties do not depend upon the hope of success, but in the most desperate cases we must do precisely what God requires of us. Your excuse does not appear a sufficient one to me, that those malevolent men would, from your appearing openly in the cause, take the probable means of overwhelming you. For what can the servants of Christ accomplish, unless they disregard hatred; pass by with indifference unfavourable reports, casting off the fear of dangers, and whatever obstacles the adversary may throw in their path; and overcome by invincible constancy? It is certain, should they even become violently mad against you, nothing awaits you more severe from them, than that you should be compelled to leave that place. This, in my opinion, you ought, for many reasons, to wish for. But as extremities of every kind are to be feared, it is your duty to resolve at once, what you owe to Christ; lest in suppressing an ingenuous profession of the truth, you afford unprincipled men, by your silence, a patronage for its destruction. In order to restrain their violence, I have again summed up, in a short compendium, the chief points of doctrine. All the Helvetick Churches have subscribed it. The Church of Zurich approved of it most decidedly. I now anxiously expect your opinion; and I wish very much to know what the Divines of Germany may think or say of it. But if those who traduce us with such hostility do not desist from their disorderly conduct, we will endeavour to make the world hear our complaints. Farewell, most excellent man, always respected by me above others. May the Lord govern you with his Spirit, protect you with his hand, and sustain you with strength; and may he hold us in a holy union until he brings us together in his heavenly kingdom.

March 5, 1555.

LETTER XLVIII.

MELANCTHON TO BULLINGER, S. D.

Rev. and dear brother, When the copies of your work *on justification,* περι δικαιοσυνης, arrived here, I immediately bought and read it. I am very much pleased with the agreement of your and our Churches in opinion. Afterwards I received the letter and volume, you sent me. I give you thanks for your good will towards me, and for your present.

I have also read your answer to the blasphemies of Servetus; and I approve of your piety and opinions. I judge also, that the Genevese Senate did perfectly right, to put an end to this obstinate man, who could never cease blaspheming. And I wonder at those who disapprove of this severity. I send you a few pages on that question, sufficient, however, to manifest our opinion.

Some of my old friends threaten me, that they will write against me, υπερ αρτολατρειας, *about the worship of the bread.* If they publish any thing against me personally, I have determined, with the assistance of God, to answer them, although I would much prefer to omit this controversy. It would be much more beneficial for the pious and learned to confer peaceably on this great subject. I pray the Son of God, that he would govern us all, and heal the wounds of his Church. May you live well and happily, beloved brother. I wish health to you all.

August 20.

LETTER XLIX.

Calvin to Martyr, salutem dicit.

What I promised to write, concerning the secret communication which we have with Christ, I shall not perform so fully as you expected. Although the subject is of great importance, yet I think it may be sufficiently defined between you and myself in a few words. Of that communication which the Son of God hath with our nature, by assuming our flesh that he might become our brother, I shall say nothing. But I shall treat of that which emanates from his divine power, and communicates life to us, so that we are made to grow together into one body with him. At the same time that we receive Christ by Faith, as he offers himself in the Gospel, we are made truly members of him, and life flows unto us from him as *a capite, from the head.* In no other way does he reconcile us to God, by the sacrifice of his death, but as he is ours, and we are one with him. So I interpret the passage of Paul, where he says, the faithful are called into his κοινωνιαν, *fellowship.* 1 Cor. i. 9. Nor does the word fellowship, or partnership, appear to me sufficiently to express his mind. He would designate that sacred oneness by which the Son of God would engraft us into his body, that he might make us partakers of his fulness. We so draw life from his flesh and blood, that we may, with propriety, call them our food. How that is done, I confess, is very far above the comprehension of my understanding. I rather humbly admire, than labour to comprehend this mystery. But this I confess, that by the divine power of the Spirit, life is poured from heaven upon the earth. For the flesh of Christ does not give life of itself, nor would its efficacy reach us, but by the incomprehensible operation of the Spirit. It is the work of the

Spirit, that Christ dwells in us, supports and nourishes us, and performs all the functions of a head. I preclude in this way all approach to the gross inventions about the intermixture of substances. It is sufficient for me, that while the body of Christ remains in celestial glory, life flows from him to us, as the root transmits the nourishment to the branches. Many of the ancient fathers, especially Hilary and Cyril, I perceive, were carried away much too far. I do not so exactly follow their hyperboles, but that I will always ingenuously oppose myself to their authority, when it is made to patronize errour. While they contend that Christ is *consubstantial*, ομοουσιον, with the Father, because it is written, *I and the Father are one*; the Arians retort, what is presently added, *that they also may be one in us*. Thus are they taken in their own ignorance, and they have recourse to this miserable subterfuge, that we are of the same essence with Christ. This being confessed, they were of necessity involved in many other absurdities. But that these new fabricators may not produce against us the authority of the fathers, it will be sufficient for me to say that I do not subscribe to them, that I may not willingly draw them into the controversy.

I now come to the second communication, which I consider as the effect and fruit of the former. For after Christ, by the internal operation of the Spirit, has subdued and united us to himself in his body, he continues to us a second operation of the Spirit, by which he enriches us with his gifts. If, therefore, we are strong in hope and patience, if we soberly and temperately abstain from the enticements of this world, if we earnestly endeavour to conquer the lusts of the flesh, if our zeal for righteousness and piety strengthens, if we are delighted and elevated with the meditation of a future life; this, I say, proceeds from that second communication, by which Christ, who does not idly dwell in us, proves the efficacy of his Spirit in manifest gifts. Nor is it absurd that Christ, when we are united to his body, should communicate to us his Spirit, by whose secret operation he was first made ours; since the scripture often attributes both these effects to his agency. But although the faithful come to this communion at the very time of their vocation; yet inasmuch as the life of Christ increases in them, he daily offers himself to be enjoyed by them. This is the communication which they receive in the Lord's Supper. I should explain this more fully to any one, whom I wished to instruct; but to you I have summed it up briefly, merely that you might see that we are of the same opinion.——————Farewell, most distinguished man, always respected by me in the Lord. Salute Sturmius, Zanchus and other friends affectionately. May the Lord always guard you, guide you by his Spirit, and follow you with his blessing.

GENEVA, August 8, 1555.

LETTER L.

MELANCTHON TO THE REV. JOHN CALVIN, his dear brother, distinguished for erudition and virtue, salutem dicit.

Rev. man and beloved brother, I know that your superior prudence will enable you to judge, from the writings of your adversaries, what their disposition is, and for what purpose they are watching for publick observation. I shall therefore say nothing of them. I only pray the Son of God, that he would heal the wounds of his Church, as the Samaritan healed the wounded traveller. I now learn, that *that proud and boasting man, on the banks of the Danube, is forging* a large volume, as a fortress against me, which if he publishes, I have determined to answer with sincerity, and without ambiguity. I judge that I owe this labour to God and the

Church. Nor do I, at this advanced age, greatly fear either exile or other dangers. I wish you health and happiness.

PHILIP.

May 12.

LETTER LI.

CALVIN TO MELANCTHON.

Most distinguished man—You indeed observe, with correctness and sagacity, that the only object of our adversaries is to exhibit themselves to the publick. But, however, I hope, and it is credible, that their expectation will be greatly disappointed. Should they still bear off the applause of the whole world, we must be more anxiously diligent to seek the approbation of our heavenly Judge, under whose eyes we contend. What? Will the holy assembly of Angels, who excite us by their presence, and point out the way of strenuous exertion by their example, permit us to be slothful, or move with a delaying step? What the whole company of holy fathers? Will they not stimulate us to exertion? What, moreover, the Church of God, now in the world? When we know that she is fighting for us by her prayers, and is animated by our example, will her assistance avail nothing with us? Let these be my spectators, I will be contented with their approbation. Though the whole world should hiss me, my courage shall not fail. Far be it from me to envy these flashy and boisterous men the glory of a laurel, in some obscure corner, for a short time. I am not ignorant of what the world applaud as praise-worthy, or condemn as odious. But it is the whole of my concern, to follow the rule prescribed by my Master. Nor do I doubt but that this ingenuousness will, on the whole, be more pleasing to the pious and faithful, than that soft and complying method of instruction, which argues an empty mind. The obligation which you acknowledge yourself under to God and his Church, I beseech you to discharge with all diligence. I do not insist upon this, for the purpose of freeing myself, and loading you with a great part of their hatred. By no means. I would rather, if it could be, from my love and respect for you, receive on my own shoulders whatever load may already oppress you. It is your duty to consider, although I did not admonish you, that you will with difficulty discharge that obligation, unless you promptly deliver from hesitation those pious men, who are looking up to you for instruction. Moreover, if that proud and blustering man, on the banks of the Danube, does not arouse you to exertion, all will justly accuse you of sloth and indifference. Farewell, most excellent and sincerely respected man. May Christ, the faithful Shepherd of his people, be always present, guide and defend you. Amen. Salute Camerarius, and other friends at Wittemberg, in my name.

GENEVA, August 22, 1555.

LETTER LII.

CALVIN TO BULLINGER, S. D.

It is known that unfavourable rumours are industriously propagated about us, by the artifice of those, who wish to screen themselves by rendering us every where odious. On this account, you will render us a favour, if you will take care, that an abridgement of what I now write be stated to your most illustrious Senate. And also, if it will not be too much trouble, I wish that you would send this part of my letter to our brethren, the Ministers of the Church of Schaffhausen, that they may, among their people, exculpate this city from unfounded calumnies. The whole affair stands thus:—

In the Senate were two men, wicked and audacious to the highest pitch of impudence. They were both of them poor and hungry. One is called Perrin, the other Vandellius. The former, being Captain-General of the city, had, by proposing impunity to all crimes, conciliated to himself the very refuse of the wicked. When any crimes were committed by the obstinate, the lewd and the dissolute, he immediately patronized them, that the penalty of the laws should not be enforced. The other was his faithful coadjutor in all these things. They bound to their purpose a part of the Senate by their flatteries. They affrightened into submission to them some sordid creatures, who could not hold their office but by their favour. Their family connections espoused their cause, merely on account of their relationship. In this manner, their power in the upper Senate had grown so strong, that scarce any dared to resist their inclinations. In fact, for several years, the legal decisions have been entirely in their power; and their scandalous breaches of justice have been abundantly manifest. The city not only saw this, but, by their means, we were evilly reported among our neighbours, and among foreigners. Very many openly opposed them, as they were often vexed and torn to pieces by their atrocious improbities. If any one, however, who despised their power, exposed their crimes, they were prompt to take their revenge. They readily passed over whatever was said by their equals. By the continuance of these things, many contracted habits of servitude to their measures. All the edicts lay dead upon the records. No one who was favoured by these men had any thing to fear from the laws, or from shame. The Judges and the Prefect of the city were annually chosen entirely by their will. Their outrage was, however, at length carried to such an excess, that the people themselves, after having elected, by their suffrages, I know not what refuse, the very basest dregs, became alarmed at their own disgrace. This was confessed by all on the last year, that if the election had been given up to the enemies of the city, they could not have called into office, from the mob itself, men more disgraceful. But now, as formerly, if the upper Senate transgress their will, the Council of two hundred are in the habit of bringing relief to their crimes and corruptions. For these men contrived to throw into this body many of the lowest characters; some of whom were turbulent and blustering young men, and others were base and dissolute in their manners. And lest their power should fail them, disregarding the order of the number, they forcibly introduced into the multitude, all those persons whom they supposed to be devoted to their interest. This licentiousness at length became so extensive, that certain persons obtruded themselves into the Senate, without any election by that body. This was the faction who, seeing the judicatory of the Church opposed to them, and their unbridled impunity in all crimes exposed, excited a contest with us concerning excommunication, that they might destroy the last remains of discipline. They desisted not from turning every thing upside down, till with great difficulty we obtained, that at least advice should be asked of the Helvetick Churches. But as your answer destroyed the hopes and purposes of the wicked, our condition was, from that circumstance, a little more quiet. Still, however, they were watching for new opportunities, and having dismissed all shame, they attempted to break down all restraints. But, as it was troublesome to us to be in continual agitation, we ventured to importune them to determine something that might be depended upon as an established order of things. In this thing the Lord wonderfully frustrated their purposes. For in the promiscuous suffrages of the multitude, we had the majority. Soon after this, the assembly was held for the election of Syndicks, at which a most unexpected change of publick opinion appeared. At this time, the wicked became openly outrageous, for they saw themselves once more reduced to order. They now rashly undertook and attempted many things, to destroy the government. We were satisfied barely to restrain or defeat their exertions, without tumult. But as it was no secret, that they were anxious, beyond measure, for a revolution, the Senate determined to oppose the best defence against their licentious rage. Of the French, who had resided here for a long time, whose probity was well known, a number, perhaps about fifty, were admitted to the right of citizenship. The faction perceived how much stronger this addition would render the hands of the good. They determined, therefore, to leave no stone unturned, to defeat this counsel. The business was discussed among themselves in the streets, and the wine shops, and also in the houses of some individuals. When they had drawn over certain persons to their purpose, they began to rise not only in complaints, but in open threats. By secret collusion, the Prefect of the city was induced, with a large but base and shameless train, to enter the Council room, and denounce the Senate if they proceeded. A great part of this mob was made up of sailors, fishermen, kitchen servants, butchers, vagrants, and persons of such like condition; as if the city could not defend its rights without such patriots. The Senate answered, in a dignified manner, that they had attempted no innovation; but had proceeded in the order sanctioned by the most ancient usage of the city; that it was an insufferable indignity, to endeavour to destroy the ancient customs, to force from the order of citizens those who had for a long time honourably dwelt among them, and finally, to attempt to wrest from the Senate the authority which had, from the remotest antiquity, been committed to their hands. But as the Senate thought best to proceed without violence, they offered pardon, for this time, to the publick conspirators. They however severely reproved the Prefect, for using his influence in behalf of so abandoned men, in so unjust a cause. The Senate, at the same time, decreed to convoke the Council of two hundred. When they were assembled, the authority of the upper Senate was sanctioned; and it was determined, that they might henceforward admit as citizens such of the French residents as they should judge proper. But before the lower Senate had decreed this last clause, the violent fury of these fellows burst forth in such a manner as to prove, that they were determined to cast themselves headlong, into all extremities, as in a desperate case. It was now the city was almost brought to a general slaughter, in a nocturnal tumult. The day before that on which it happened, a dinner, free of expense, was given to many of those unprincipled men. The leaders, however, feasted in a different place. Vandellius bore the expense of the dinner, and Perrin of the supper. Their runners were flying about in all directions. Many unfavourable omens were observed. The steady inhabitants were, not without cause, concerned for themselves. It is the custom in this city, after the *watches* are stationed at the gates, that the captain of the watch goes the round to examine the sentries. Each Senator performs this office in his turn. The watch of this night being stationed in the centre of the city, they heard an outcry at a small distance. In that quarter, behind the merchants' shops, some one being struck with a stone, cried out that he was killed. The watch ran together instantly to discharge their duty. Two brothers encountered them, who were of the company of Perrin and Vandellius; men of the lowest class, being butchers, who had supped on free cost at the same table. From this circumstance it became evident, that this outcry was made by agreement, otherwise two men only would not have dared to attack the watch who were armed. They both indeed confessed this to be the fact, to the Judges, and to many others, and to me also in private. But yet, when they were taken to punishment, they denied that this outcry was made as the signal for a mob. They were however convicted, by so many proofs, that their impudence was of no avail. They did not at all deny, that on the same day, between the dinner and supper, they accompanied Perrin, of their own accord, to a neighbouring village; that while they were on their way there, mention was made of five hundred armed men, who were to be called from some other place, to guard the city; that when the same subject was introduced at the afternoon's repast, Perrin, when the mechanicks came in, repressed the conversation, commanding silence, *schwick, schwick,* in German; and that as this village was without the jurisdiction of Geneva, he said that an asylum and support were there prepared for any who should commit any capital crime in the city.

Upon the apprehension of those two men, (the tumult increasing) one of the Syndicks, who lived near the place, appeared with lighted torches, and the staff which was the badge of his office. The reverence of this people was always so great for this sacred staff, that by its appearance the greatest mobs were dispersed, and when slaughter was threatened, the violence was restrained by its influence. One of these brothers, with a drawn sword, encountered the Syndick. The Syndick, relying on the badge of his authority, seized him, that he might commit him to prison. Many of the factious flew to his assistance. Every light was extinguished. They declared, that they would not suffer their good companion to be carried to prison. Perrin came at this moment. He at first dissembled attempts to pacify them, and seized the staff of the Syndick, whispering in his ear, *it is mine and not yours.* The Syndick, though a man of small stature, would not give it up, but struggled boldly, and with all his strength. While these things were going on, a clamour was raised in every direction, through all the streets of the city, as it would seem, in a moment; *the French are in arms—the city is betrayed by treachery—the house of the Senator, the Prefect of the watch is filled with armed men.*—It was thus these emissaries tumultuously assembled those whom they knew to be on their side. Perrin, as soon as he believed his band sufficiently strong, began to vociferate, *the Syndical staff is ours—for I hold it.* This was not answered by a single testimony of applause, although he was surrounded by the conspirators. Thus it is evident, that they were restrained by some providential influence. Confounded with shame, and equally terrified, Perrin by degrees recovered himself. But falling upon another Syndick, a kinsman of his by marriage, he forcibly seized his staff. He complained that the rights of the city were violated in the attack made upon him, and called for assistance. As the mob had the superiority in arms, no one raised a finger, or moved a step, at the Syndick's complaint. But a certain reverence again prevented the vilest from applauding this act of Perrin. At length, forced by fear, he privately returned the staff. At this time, many of the conspirators were in arms. One voice resounded every where—*the French must be killed—they have betrayed the city.* But the Lord watched over these unhappy exiles, and so held them in sleep that they heard none of these horrid outcries; or so supported them that they did not fear the threatened danger. None of them left their houses. And thus, by the interposition of God, the purpose of the wicked was defeated, as no one offered himself to the combat. For they had determined, as was afterwards well known, if any attacked them, to defend themselves; that some being slain, they would proceed in battle array against others, as if the sedition had been raised by us. They not only threatened those who had taken up their residence here, but they exclaimed, that their patrons also should be slain, and that punishment should be inflicted upon the Senate. In this affair, you may see the clemency of our Senate, who, when the authors of this nefarious uproar were apprehended and convicted, not only spared their lives, but abstained even from moderate chastisements, so that they were not indeed corrected by whipping. The Syndicks, having ordered the Senate to be convoked, ran quickly from one part of the city to the other. The wicked, however, relying upon their multitude, not only to elude and despise their authority, but also to abuse them with insults, left very small hopes of a remedy. However, by divine interference, beyond all our expectations, the violence of the tempest began to moderate by degrees. The next day it was decreed, that enquiry should be made concerning the publick violence. The Syndicks took up three days in examining the witnesses. That no one should say, he was pressed to a false testimony, they assembled the Council of two hundred; and while the testimonies were recited, the conspirators themselves sat among the judges. As it appeared that any one was concerned in the crime, or laboured under unfavourable suspicions, he was ordered to leave the Senate room, as he could not with integrity give his opinion. But Perrin, seeing his wickedness would be detected, with three others, made his escape by flight. The lower Senate, justly exasperated at the indignity of this outrage upon good order, decreed that the crime of this conspiracy ought to be severely punished. They exhorted the upper Senate, who have the power of passing sentence, strenuously to exact exemplary punishment. The fugitives were summoned by the principal Sheriff, and then by a publick Crier, according to custom; and this was done by the sound of trumpet for fifteen days. By their letters, they declared that they would not appear, unless the publick faith was pledged for their security. But it would have been very absurd, to absolve, by a law as privileged persons, those criminals who ought to defend their cause in chains.

On the appointed day, five were condemned. But before the Judges pronounced sentence, they recited, in a publick assembly, the crimes of those whom they were obliged to hold convicted, since they refused, when summoned, to appear and defend their innocence upon trial. Then they produced the confession of those, who were punished, and who are still in prison. It is very evident, that they are too dangerous and too wicked, to be permitted to escape by any subterfuge. Yet they are shameless enough to persist in spreading opprobrious reports; that they are oppressed by unjust hatred; that they defended the rights of the city against the French; and that the Senate was devoted to the French. As if the Council of two hundred, by whose previous judgment they were sentenced, were not the people. As if they were driven from the city by force of arms. As if the people, believing them to be the patrons of their liberties, would quietly permit them to be oppressed with such severe injuries. But so true is it, on the other hand, that by their flight, all the tumults were composed; the cloudy and tempestuous atmosphere, which they had drawn over the city, was dispersed; the laws resumed their force, and tranquillity was restored to the people. Those persons who came to entreat for them, at their request, saw most evidently, that the city was no longer divided by discord, nor disturbed by contentions; and that the punishment decreed against them was approved by the deliberate opinion of all. Possessed of the most consummate impudence, they not only extenuate the crimes which they have admitted, but with futile cavils, boast that those crimes were made up out of nothing. It is by no means difficult to confute these assertions. They declare it is not probable, that when they had a large mob under their power, they should rush to arms without a strong guard. As if it was a rare and unfrequent example, that the wicked are blinded, and thrown headlong by their madness. And certainly, whatever they may pretend, it was manifest madness that drove one in a back yard, to knock down a man with the stroke of a stone, from whence the outcry began. The same infatuation also induced the two brothers to make an attack upon the watch, who were armed with drawn swords. And, moreover, that they should petulantly contemn and mock the authority of the Syndicks, to disobey whom was always a capital crime, is an evident proof, not merely of sudden fury, but of audaciousness before conceived, and among themselves long determined upon. Whence originated this unanimous outcry among them all, that the city was betrayed by the French, unless they had conspired together for this very purpose? Unless they had, by special agreement, given out this watch-word, how could it be that in the most distant parts of the city, this outcry, made up of nothing, should be joined in at the same moment? How came it to pass, that the wife of that same Vandellius ran to the doors of all those whom she supposed to be of their party, accusing the French of treason? But this is what one of Perrin's followers confessed, who was more intimate with him than any one else, that those two leaders of sedition, four or five days before, conversed about it between themselves. "Why," said Perrin, "do we remain idle, when we shall shortly be punished for our cowardice? It is now three years since the enemies have conspired together to effect our ruin. They placed me first on the list. We must, therefore, be hand in hand with them. A specious pretext is now offered us. We will say that it is not for the interest of the Republick to grant to so many rights of citizenship. We shall obtain nothing from the upper Senate or the two hundred. *We will appeal to the people, Ad populum provocabimus.* The multitude will unite with us against the will of the Syndicks. We will suborn the men of our party, to raise a tumult. There will be no difficulty in taking off our enemies; only let us be daring, and the victory is ours." This intimate of Perrin, who is almost the very shadow of the man, repeated this testimony four times.

Let those men deny that they were justly condemned, who proposed to butcher, in the midst of the assembly of the people, and in the holy place, two of the Syndicks, some of the Senators, and some of the most worthy and innocent of the citizens. I say nothing of myself, as they take it for granted that I am their enemy. What Perrin said, about my conspiring their ruin, is not worthy of an answer.

The Senate have not as yet pronounced sentence against Vandellius. But his guilty conscience has driven him from the city. From these facts it will be manifest, that in this great tumult, the same moderation has been regarded, as is usual in the most quiet state of affairs; and that nothing has been done against those wicked men, either artfully or without due consideration. If you were here, you would say, that our Senate have proceeded with too much forbearance and remissness. But it is better to err on this side than on the other, lest any one absurdly complain, that it was cruel, and done in the heat of passion. God grant, that the remembrance of so great a deliverance may awaken us to unremitting gratitude, and bind us with diligent assiduity to the duties of our office. When I began to write this letter, I had no expectation of its being carried by our brother Othoman. For although he had spoken of his journey, he was then uncertain, whether he should go directly to Zurich, and I had determined to procure another messenger. It happens well, and affords me much pleasure, as he will be able to explain more fully any circumstance which I may have expressed with too much obscurity, from endeavouring to be concise. You have twice exhorted me to patience in my station; but I think I have borne very patiently so many indignities, and passed them in silence, that while I restrained my passions, I appeared to be wanting in resolution. I wish by my silence, and apparent indifference, I could have pacified those who do not cease to hate me, nor to rage against all our good citizens. But although they are the more enraged on account of my moderation, I am determined to pursue one steady course. I am happy to hear that N—— has obtained an office in which he may be useful. May the Lord grant him grace to discharge its duties with faithfulness. Salute, in my name, your fellow Ministers, your wife and family. Farewell, illustrious man and respected brother. May the Lord continue to direct you by his Spirit, and bless your labours.

Yours, JOHN CALVIN.

GENEVA, June 15, 1555.

LETTER LIII.

JOHN CALVIN TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL, SECRETARY TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

For writing to you familiarly, most accomplished man, I shall not make a long apology, although I am personally unknown to you. Relying on the testimony of some pious persons, who have declared to me your generosity of heart, I trust that you will be disposed to receive my letter with pleasure; especially when you shall discover from the perusal my intention in writing. Since the awful darkness which had almost stupified the minds of pious men is dispersed, and the clear light has suddenly shone forth beyond all hope, it is reported that you, possessing distinguished favour with her Majesty the Queen, have endeavoured diligently to remove the profligate superstitions of Popery, which had accumulated through four years in England,* so that the sincere doctrines of the Gospel, and the pure and entire worship of God, again flourish. I have now therefore to exhort you freely and openly to commence your warfare for Christ. This one thing however remains, that what you do you should proceed to do with the greatest activity and most invincible constancy. Your holy labours should neither be broken by any troubles, difficulties, contests or terrours, nor even in the least degree retarded. I doubt not, indeed, but that obstacles sometimes encounter you; and that dangers rise full before your eyes, which would dishearten the most resolute, unless God should sustain them by the most wonderful power of his Spirit. This is the cause, for the defence of which it is not lawful for us to decline the most arduous labours. During the time that the publick place of execution was appropriated for burning the children of God, you yourself remained silent among others. At least then, since greater liberty is restored by the singular and incredible favour of God, it becomes you to take courage; and if you was, during that period, too timid, you may now compensate that loss by the ardour of your zeal. I know very well, that a preposterous haste is injurious; and that many retard their progress by an inconsiderate and precipitate zeal, with which they would leap in a moment to the end of their race. But on the other hand, it is faithfully to be considered, that to maintain the whole truth and pure devotion of the Gospel, is the work which God assigns us, and which must not be slothfully undertaken. From the present state of things, you are better able to judge, what steps are proper to be pursued, and what degree of moderation is to be exercised. But you will remember, that all delay, with however specious colours it may be covered, ought to excite your suspicion. One fear, I

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* This period embraces the persecuting reign of Queen Mary, who succeeded Edward VI. October, 1553, and died November, 1558. Cecil was

first promoted by the Duke of Somerset, and became a distinguished Lawyer; and by his moderate and temporizing conduct, during Mary's bloody reign, he escaped punishment, and continued in England, till, on the accession of Elizabeth, he was made Secretary of State.

conjecture, is from popular tumults, since among the nobles there are many who would kindle up the fire of sedition; and if the English become tumultuous among themselves, their neighbours are at hand, who anxiously watch for whatever opportunity may offer for their purpose. But as her most serene Majesty has been wonderfully raised to the throne, by the hand of God, she cannot otherwise prove her gratitude, than by shaking off all delays by her prompt alacrity, and surmounting all impediments by her magnanimity. Since it can hardly be otherwise, but that, in the present turbulent and confused state of things, her attention should be suspended among important affairs, her mind perplexed and sometimes wavering; I have ventured to exhort her, that, having entered the right course, she should persevere with constancy. Whether I have done this prudently or not, let others judge. If, by your endeavours, my admonition produces the desired effect, I shall not repent of having given her that counsel. Consider also, most illustrious Sir, that God has placed you in that degree of favour and dignity which you hold, that you might be wholly attentive to this concern, and stretch every nerve to the accomplishment of this work. And lest slothfulness by any means creep upon you, let it now and then come into your mind, of what great moment are these two things: First, in what manner that religion, which was miserably fallen away; that doctrine of salvation, which was adulterated by abominable falsehoods; that worship of God, which was polluted with defilements, may recover their lustre, and the Church be cleansed from this abomination? Secondly, how the children of God among you may be free to invoke his name in sincerity; and how those who are dispersed may be again collected? Farewell, most excellent man, sincerely respected by me. May the Lord guide you by his Spirit, protect and enrich you with all good gifts.

GENEVA, January 29, 1559.

LETTER LIV.

Calvin to Olevianus.*

As it may perhaps be of some assistance to you, I will give you a summary of our mode of government in this Church.

1. The Ministers are chosen from our College. A passage of scripture is given them, by the interpretation of which they exhibit a specimen of their abilities; then an examination is held upon the principal heads of doctrine; after this they preach before us, as though they were in the presence of the people. Two Senators are also present. If their qualifications are approved, we present them to the Senate with the testimony. It is in the power of this body not to admit them, if they judge them to be unqualified. If they are received, (as they have been always hitherto,) their names are published *coram populo, in presence of the people;* and any one who knows any thing against them is at liberty to object to them within eight days. Those who are approved by the tacit suffrages of all, we recommend to God and to the Church.

2. We baptize infants only at publick meetings; because it is absurd that this solemn reception *of them by the Church,* should have only a few witnesses. The parents, unless something prevents, are directed to be present, that they may answer in the covenant together with the *fidejussoribus, sure-*

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* Gaspar Olevianus, of Treves, first studied jurisprudence; but in attempting to save from drowning some rash young men, who had upset their boat, he fell into extreme danger, and made a vow, that if God would deliver him, he would, if called to it, preach the Gospel. He escaped, and began first to read the Commentaries of Calvin; he then went to Geneva, and studied theology under the instruction of that eminent Divine. In 1560, he was Professor at Heidleberg, in the University of Wisdom, from which place he wrote to Calvin for the laws of the Genevese Consistory. The above letter is the answer of Calvin. Olevianus died Minister of Herborn in Germany, 1587, aged 57. Melchior Adams, in Vita Oleviani, p. 596.

*ties.** No one, however, is admitted as a *surety*, unless of the same religious profession with us. Excommunicated persons are also prohibited this honour.

3. No one is admitted to the holy Supper of Christ, before making a publick profession of his faith. For this purpose, we have annually four examinations, at which the youth are interrogated, and the proficiency of each one is known. For although at the Catechism on each Lord's day, they begin before to give some testimony, yet it is not lawful for them to come to the holy table, until it is known, by the opinion of the Minister, that they have made some tolerable proficiency in the principal doctrines of religion. As it respects those who are older, we repeat annually the inspection of each family. We distribute among *ourselves* the different parts of the city, so that we can examine in order every ward. The *Minister* is accompanied by one of the Church Elders. At this time the new inhabitants are examined. Those who have been once received, *at the Supper*, are omitted; except that we examine whether their families are in peace and good order; whether they have contentions with their neighbours; whether they are given to intemperance; and whether they are indifferent and slothful in attending publick worship.

4. For the discipline of morals, this method is observed: Twelve Church Elders are annually chosen; two from the

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* St. Augustine, who died A. D. 430, says that this custom was adopted in the Church, on account of infant slaves presented by their masters; of infants whose parents were dead; and of those whom their parents abandoned. In all ordinary cases, parents answered for their children. Wall's Hist. Bap. vol 1. In the reformed Churches, as there was no commandment from God for sureties at baptism, they made no rule to bind parents to have them, except in cases where one or both parents were Papists, or when children of Saracens, or of the Gypsies, were offered. So also it was required, that a mother, or a woman, in presenting a child, should have a surety, to secure the religious education of the child. The Presbyterian and Congregational Churches now consider the Church, which receives a child, to be the surety, together with the parent or presenting person, for the religious education of the child. See Quick's Synod. vol. 1. p. 45.

upper Senate; the other ten from the Council of two hundred, either natives or naturalized citizens. Those who honestly and faithfully perform their duty are not removed from office, unless when occupied by other concerns of the Republick. After the election, before they take their seats, their names are published to the people, that if any one should know them to be unworthy, he may declare it in season.

5. No one is summoned to the ecclesiastical tribunal, unless by the general opinion of all the board; therefore each one is asked, whether he has any thing to offer? No one is summoned, unless he has refused compliance with private admonitions, or brought scandal on the Church by an evil example. For instance, blasphemers, drunkards, fornicators, strikers, quarrellers, dancers, who lead in balls, and such like, are called *before the Censura Morum.* Those who commit lighter offences are dismissed with the correction of mild reproof. Greater sins are reproved with sharper severity; for the Minister excludes them, at least for a short time, from the Supper, until, upon their asking forgiveness, they are reconciled to the Church. If any one obstinately despises the authority of the Church, unless he desist from his stubbornness before a year is past, he is thrown into exile by the Senate for a year. If any one proves more perverse, the Senate takes up the cause and inflicts the punishment. Those who, for the sake of redeeming their lives from the Papists, have abjured the doctrines of the Gospel, or attended mass, are ordered to appear before the Church. The Minister from the pulpit sets forth the matter. Then the excommunicated person falls on his knees, and humbly implores forgiveness. Such is the procedure of the Consistory, that it in no way interferes with the course of civil jurisdiction. And that the people may not complain of any unreasonable rigour, the Ministers are not only subject to the same punishments, but if they commit any thing worthy of excommunication, they are also at the same time deposed.

GENEVA, November 5, 1560.

NOTES

AND

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

NO. 1—PAGE 1.

Mathurin Cordier, or Corderius, was a man of distinguished erudition and probity. Eminently skilled in the Latin language, he taught it with singular success, and with affectionate address, laboured to impress on the minds of his pupils the principles of true wisdom. He spent a long life in teaching youth at Paris, Nevers, Bordeaux, Geneva, Neufchatel, Lausanne, and again at Geneva, where he died, September 8th, 1564, aged 85. Such was the vigour of Corderius, that he instructed the scholars of the sixth form, till within three or four days of his death. Calvin highly respected Corderius, and dedicated to him his Commentary on the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, in the year 1550. Calvin speaks of him as a man of excellent piety and learning. After mentioning the circumstance of his father's sending him to Paris, and the strict discipline of Cordier in laying the foundation of the Latin correctly and thoroughly, he says, *This I would testify to posterity, that if any benefit shall flow to them from my writings, they must, in a great measure, acknowledge it to be derived from your instructions.* Corderius studied divinity for some time at Paris, in the College of Navarre, about 1528. He however returned to his former profession of Grammarian; and became extensively useful in promoting the study of the Latin, in the School of the Reformers. At this period, the Latin language was cultivated and advanced to a degree of purity which has been rarely equalled by any writer since. The true friends of the Gospel have been ever anxious to have the minds of people enlightened, and the scriptures diffused. The Reformers were the strenuous supporters of literature. They were master workmen in the temple of theology. Their labours were immense, and the effects produced astonishing. And the familiar COLLOQUIES of CORDERIUS were then a stepping stone to that ascent of knowledge, by which Calvin and others reached the highest elevation, to the benefit of the Church of Christ.

NO. 2—PAGE 2.

The *Tonsure* in the Romish Church may be received after the age of seven years.—It is the first part of the ceremony of ordination. The candidate presents himself in a black cassock before the Bishop, with a surplice on his right arm, and a lighted taper in his hand. He kneels, and the Bishop, standing covered with his mitre, repeats a prayer and several verses from the scripture. The Bishop then sitting, cuts five different parcels of hair from the head of the candidate, who repeats these words—*The Lord is my inheritance.* Putting off his mitre, the Bishop then says a prayer over the person tonsured—an anthem is sung by the choir; then a prayer, in the middle of which the Bishop puts the surplice on the candidate for orders, and says, *may the Lord clothe thee with thy new name.* The ceremony is closed by the candidate's presenting the wax taper to the Bishop, who gives him his blessing. Dr. Hurd's Rites and Cerem. p. 282.

NO. 3—PAGE 3.

PETER ROBERT OLIVETAN was the first who translated the scriptures from the Hebrew into the French language. The Preface to the Old Testament, addressed to all the Emperours, Kings, Princes and nations, subject to the dominion of Christ, was written by Calvin, and bears date at Neufchatel, 1535. The Preface to the New Testament was also written by him, and bears the same date. They were originally written in French. They are to be found in the Latin, among Calvin's Epistles, in the 9th Vol. of his works. Olivetan's translation is known among the learned by the title of the Bible of Neufchatel. Olivetan died in 1536, at Rome, and was supposed to be poisoned by the Papists, on account of this translation of the scriptures from the Hebrew.

NO. 4—PAGE 4.

Melchior Wolmar was a native of Switzerland. Like Corderius in the Latin, Wolmar was eminent as an instructor in the Greek language. He wrote Commentaries on the first two books of the Iliad of Homer. While he continued at Bourges, he not only instructed Calvin in the Greek, but was, for several years, the instructor of Theodore Beza. Calvin dedicated to Wolmar his Commentary on the 2d Epistle to the Corinthians, dated 1546. In this he expresses his great obligation to him for his assistance in the study of the Greek, and also in the acquisition of religious knowledge. Calvin also mentions, that he should have continued his course of studies at the University of Bourges, if he had not been recalled by the death of his father. After leaving France, Wolmar was Professor of Law at Tubingen in Germany, and died at Eisenach in 1561, aged 64.

NO. 5—PAGE 6.

Margaret de Valois, *Queen of Navarre.*—This learned and illustrious woman, the decided friend and patroness of the early Reformers, died at the Castle Odos, Dec. 2d, 1549, aged 57. She left a daughter by the name of Jane, who had imbibed her religious principles, and succeeded to her title, and was an unwavering friend to the reformed Church. Jane, Queen of Navarre, signed the confession of faith drawn up by Calvin, and which had been adopted by the reformed Churches of France, in 1559. She was mother of Henry IV. of France, and died June 10, 1572, about two months before the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, which was August 24th.

NO. 6.—PAGE 7.

James Faber, Stapulensis, of Estaples, a small borough upon the sea coast of Picardy. He was of small stature and low extraction, but of great genius and extensive learning. He was educated in the University of Paris; and from independency of mind laboured to improve the course of studies, and to revive the pursuit of solid learning purified from the barbarism of the schools. After studying philosophy and the mathematicks, he applied himself to divinity, and took his degree of Doctor; but being suspected of favouring the new doctrines, he was obliged to leave Paris. He retired to

Meaux, where he was patronized by the Bishop, William Briçonnet, who was a friend to science and to the Reformers. But persecution drove Faber to Blois and to Guienne, till Margaret of Navarre took him under her patronage. He lived at Nerac, and died in 1537, aged about 100. During his residence with the Queen, she sent him to Strasburg, to confer with Capito and Bucer relative to the reformation of the Church. The day before his death he is said to have lamented, *that he had not taught the truth at the peril of his life, as others had done; and that he had had the weakness to stay in that place of refuge.* She endeavoured to comfort him; but he said, I have nothing to do now, after I have made my will, but to die and go to God. He informed the Queen that he had made her his heir, on condition that she should give all he had to the poor. He retired to his bed and expired without a struggle. Dupin, 16 Cent. Book 3, p. 426, and Bayle, and Rees' Cyclo.

NO. 7—PAGE 8.

Gerard Roussel of Picardy, William Farel of Dauphiny, James Faber, Stapulensis, and Arnoldus Roussel, brother of Gerard, first preached the doctrines of the Reformation in France, under the patronage of *William Briçonnet*, Bishop of Meaux, in 1523. *These Divines*, as Dupin calls them, gathered the first reformed Church at Meaux, and ordained Peter le Clerk, who preached and administered the sacrament till their numbers being increased to about 400, they were discovered. Le Clerk was, by the Papists, whipped, branded and banished, and after preaching at Metz, was burnt. *The four Divines* were banished. All which took place in the year 1523.

NO. 8—PAGE 11.

Clement Marot, through the means of the Princess Renèe, obtained leave of Francis I. to return from Ferrara into France. He was a favourite of the King's, and in his day was called "the Poet of Princes, and the Prince of Poets." He versified 30 of the Psalms in the French language, and dedicated them to the King, who was highly pleased, and requested Marot to proceed in the version. The Doctors of the Sorbonne, however, censured the translation, and remonstrated with the King against the publication, and eventually it was prohibited. This was about 1540. The prohibition excited publick curiosity, and they were called for faster than the printers could work them off. They were sung in the tunes of the common ballads by the people, Courtiers and Princes. Marot was hated by the Papists, and being apprehensive of imprisonment, he retired to Geneva, and in 1543 completed the versification of 20 more of the Psalms, which were published with the thirty which had been printed at Paris. CALVIN wrote the preface to this edition in behalf of the Church of Geneva, which is dated June 10th (1543.) These were introduced into the publick service of the Church. Calvin took care to procure the Psalms to be set to musick, by the most distinguished musicians. Beza came to Geneva in 1548. He says, the first time he attended publick worship, he heard the 91st Psalm sung, and was so ravished with it that he ever after carried it engraven on his heart. About 1552, Beza, at Lausanne, versified the Psalms omitted by Marot, (*viz.* 100,) and these were set to musick by William Franck, and published together with those of Marot at Geneva, and the avails of them appropriated to the support of poor refugees at Geneva. Thus the whole collection of Psalms, together with the musick, was first printed at Geneva in 1553. In this edition, the Psalms were printed with Calvin's Catechism. This excited the aversion of the Papists, who had before used those of Marot. But now to sing them was a mark of heresy in their estimation. About the time of the conference of Poissy, a license was obtained from Charles IX. for printing Marot's and Beza's version of the Psalms, for the use of the reformed Churches. Editions of them were printed at Paris and at Lyons, 1561.

The mode of singing Psalms in measured verse, as now practised, was introduced first by CALVIN at Geneva, in 1543. From that Church the practice went forth into all the reformed Churches in France, and was introduced into England by the Presbyterians, who resided at Geneva, and established an English Church there during the *Marian persecution*. The English exiles, while at Geneva, commenced and completed a translation of the scriptures into the English language. The principal translators were *Miles Coverdale*, *Christopher Goodman*, *John Knox*, *Anthony Gilby* or *Gibbs*, *Thomas Sampson*, *William Cole* and *William Whittingham*. They divided the chapters into verses, and added notes in the margin, and also tables, maps, &c. and published it with a dedication to *Queen Elizabeth* in 1560. The Psalms versified and set to musick, as in the Church of Geneva, were annexed to this Bible. This version has been known as that of *Sternhold and Hopkins*. The initials of the name of the versifier were prefixed to each Psalm. Sternhold was the first, who, in imitation of Marot, turned about forty of the Psalms into English metre. And in 1554, they were published with a dedication to Edward VI. Strype's Annals Vol. 2, p. 86. He died in 1549. John Hopkins, Thomas Norton, William Whittingham and others versified the others in English metre at Geneva, which, together with Sternhold's, were published first in 1559, and then in 1560, at the end of the Geneva Bible. Thus the Psalms versified in English came into England, and were allowed first to be sung before the morning and evening service; and at length they were published with this declaration: *Psalms set forth and allowed to be sung in all Churches, before and after morning and evening Prayer, as also before and after Sermons.* And in a short time they superceded the *Te Deum*, *Benedicite*, *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis*, which had been retained from the Romish Church. Bayle, Art. Marot. Neal. p. 109. Heylin. p. 213, 214. Rees' Cy. Art. Bible. Burnet. p. 290.

NO. 9—PAGE 12.

The Princess RENEE was very distinguished for her unshaken and cordial attachment to the cause of the Reformation. Being the daughter of Lewis XII. her influence was considerable, and she used it nobly and faithfully in relieving the poor, and supporting the persecuted in their distresses. After the death of the Duke of Ferrara, her husband, in 1559, she returned from Italy to France in 1560, and openly professed the reformed doctrines at Montagris, where she died in 1575. Her constancy, courage and humanity have rarely been equalled, in adhering to her religious principles, and in supporting the poor and persecuted under all the apprehensiveness of Popish superstition and barbarous cruelty.

NO. 10—PAGE 15.

(NOTE.—The following note is referred to page 15, and is there called No. 9; it should be No. 10.)

FRANCIS JUNIUS, in his animadversions upon Bellarmin, says that he was at Geneva when Calvin closed bis life; but that he never saw, heard, knew, thought, or even dreamed of the blasphemies and curses which the Papists said he uttered at his death. So it may be presumed, that when Beza wrote the account of Calvin's entering on the ministerial office, he did not even dream, that any one, either from ignorance or effrontery, would call in question or deny Calvin's ordination. But what Beza did not probably even dream of, two Doctors in America, after about two centuries and a half, have called in question, and it seems denied. Dr. Leaming may be excused for not construing the Latin of Beza; but Dr. Bowden, unless by chusing to lose himself in his own prejudices, he has passed beyond the limits of common testimony, and escaped out of the entire dominion of argument, may be requested to read in the original Latin, *Beza's life of Calvin*, *Anno* 1536. Let him examine also Calvin's Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms, and his answer to Sadolet, a short extract from which shall be here given in a fair translation.—"When I was called at Geneva, the reformed religion was already established, and the order of the Church corrected. I not only approved by my voice of those things which had been done by *Farel* and *Viret*, but as much as I was able, I laboured to preserve and confirm that cause in which I was by necessity united with them. I could have easily forgiven you any personal injury, out of respect to your office and literature; but when I see *my ministry*, which I doubt not was founded and sanctioned by the vocation of God, wounded through my side, it would be perfidy and not patience, if I should remain silent and dissemble in such a case. *I discharged first the office of Professor and afterwards that of Pastor in that Church. And I contend that I accepted of that charge having the authority of a lawful vocation.* With how great fidelity and reverential fear I performed my duty, I have no occasion now to testify in detail. I will not arrogate to myself any peculiar discernment, erudition, prudence, address or even diligence. I am, however, conscious, before Christ my judge, and all his Angels, that I walked in that Church with the sincerity which is becoming in the work of the Lord. On this point, all good men will give me the most luminous testimony. Since then this ministry has been established by the Lord, if I should silently suffer it to be, slandered and abused by you, who would not reprobate such silence as a prevarication? Every one sees, that I am now pledged by the high responsibility of *my office*, and that I cannot escape the obligation which binds me to defend myself against your criminations, unless I deliberately, and with open perfidy, abandon and betray the work which the Lord has committed to my charge. But though I am, at present, freed from the pastoral charge of the Genevese Church, still this is no reason why I should not embrace it with paternal affection, since God once put me in authority over it, and bound me to it in a perpetual covenant." Cardinal Sadolet did not deny Calvin's ordination. Opuscula Calvini, p. 105. Bellarmin, another Cardinal, who was twenty two years of age when Calvin deceased, says that none *but the Popes could create Bishops and Presbyters*,—and *that neither* LUTHER, *nor* ZUINGLIUS, *nor* CALVIN *were* BISHOPS, *but only* PRESBYTERS—*sed tantum Prebyteri.* It may be fairly left with the Dr. to determine the question, how Calvin could be a *Presbyter*, without *ordination?*

Francis Junius, in his animadversions upon *Bellarmin*, says that *Luther* and *Zuinglius* received ordination in the Romish Church—that *Calvin was ordained by those who preceded him*—qui antecesserunt, eumque ordinaverunt.—Farel and Coraud, who received ordination in the Romish Church, preceded Calvin at Geneva; and Beza states, that they were colleagues with Calvin in the Church in that city. The letter of Bucer to Calvin, dated Strasburg, November 1, 1536, is unanswerable testimony, that Calvin was at this time a Minister of the Church of Geneva; or Bucer would not have spoken of his ministry, nor called him *my brother and fellow Minister.* This designates the time before which Calvin must have received ordination and the charge of that Church.—See No. 3 of the preceding Letters in this volume. For other proofs of Calvin's ordination, *see the able and elegant letters of Dr.* MILLER, *vol.* 2, *Continuation of letters concerning the constitution and order of the Christian Ministry, addressed to the members of the Presbyterian Churches in the city of New-York*, 1809. Lett. 7, p. 306.

NO. 11—PAGE 35.

Ubi quum *Pastoris* constantis et seduli opera requireretur.—Beza has used the word *Pastor* in a manner too loose for a historian, and has misled some learned writers, who, from this expression, have concluded that *Sebastian Castalio* was a *Pastor* of the Church. But this is not the fact. Castalio was never in the ministry. Calvin first patronized him by introducing him as a teacher of the languages in the Divinity school at Strasburg, about 1540 or 1541. After Calvin returned to Geneva, he invited Castalio to take the charge of the grammar school in this city. He soon discovered his obscene taste and heretical opinions. Castalio was excluded by the Senate from Geneva in 1544. The following is a part of the certificate which Castalio states was given him at that time, written by Calvin: "We testify, in a brief manner, that he so conducted himself with us that by our united consent he was already designed for the pastoral office.——Lest therefore, any one should suspect, that it was for some other reason that Sebastian went away from us, we would give this testimony wherever he shall come:—he left of his own accord the mastership of the school. In that employment he so conducted himself, that we judged him worthy of the holy ministry; and to this he would have been received had it not been for some spots on his life, and some profane opinions which he advanced against the articles of our faith. These were the only reasons which prevented."——This is full evidence, that Castalio was never in the Ministry, and of course not deposed from it, as Spon and others have asserted. Calvin's conduct in this instance appears candid and dignified towards Castalio, who did not cease, in a covert and hypocritical way, to injure and involve him in difficulties, by aiding the factious at Geneva. Castalio spent his time subsequently at Basil where he instructed in the languages. He died poor and unpatronized, December 29, 1563, aged 48. Bayle Art. Cast.

NO. 12—PAGE 37.

ALBERT PIGHIUS wrote ten books against Calvin's Institutes. Six books were upon the *freedom of the will.* These Calvin answered in the course of two months, amidst all his other avocations. Calvin, in his reply to the first book of Pighius, says, "I wonder how Pighius had the assurance to transcribe so familiarly several things from my book into his own without naming me. I do not see by what authority he could do it unless by the right of prescription; for he has been accustomed to do this for a long time. In that great book, which he published against our articles of faith, he has stuffed in whole pages from my Institutes, as may be seen, and adapted it to his purpose, as though it was his own. Now I would know by what right or title, he thus uses what is mine for his own? Does he think, that he has a right to plunder me of whatever he pleases, because I am his enemy? But this kind of depredation can neither be justified by law nor custom. Only one pretext remains, being a learned man, it is possible, that what came first into my mind, might also come into his. But I would ask the readers, if they have leisure, to compare the first chapter of Pighius' book with the first chapter of my Institutes—and what he wrote on justification in his other work *with the sixth chapter* of my Institutes."* "He does not steal secretly here and there, nor does he study to conceal his plunder by artifice, in order to make it look like his own.—He openly recites whole pages word for word. But I have something to say in his defence. He acted more from the expectation of security than silliness. He sought to please those *who scrupulously avoid reading our writings, while they eagerly praise and admire every thing of every kind which opposes us.*——Opuscula Calvini, p. 121.

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* Calvin's Institutes were at this time divided only into chapters.

NO. 13—PAGE 49.

Bucer, in a letter to Calvin, dated Strasburg, October 28, 1542, says; "Our literary school is well supplied; a man has arrived here from Italy, learned in Greek, Hebrew and Latin, happily versed in the scriptures, 44 years of age, with good talents and a penetrating genius; his name is PETER MARTYR. He was President of the Canons of Lucca in Lombardy.

Martyr continued at Strasburg, until, at the invitation of Cranmer in the King's name, he went over to England, in November 1547. In 1549, he was appointed divinity Professor at Oxford, by Edward VI. He married at Strasburg a nun who, like himself, had escaped from the superstitions of a convent. She died during his residence at Oxford. On the accession of Queen Mary in 1552, after Martyr returned to Strasburg, during the Marian persecution, the bones of his wife were dug up by the virulent Papists, and buried in a dung hill. Martyr was, for the seven last years of his life, Professor at Zurich. He was at the Convention at Poissy, in 1561, with Theodore Beza, and died soon after his return in 1562, aged 63. He was learned, zealous, sincere and humble. He wrote Commentaries on the scriptures, and against the Papists, and *on the Lord's Supper,* in reply to Gardner, Bishop of Winchester. Burnet, Vol. 2, p. 50.

NO. 14—PAGE 161.

MARTIN BUCER was born 1491, at Schelestadt in the Province of Alsace. He entered the order of Dominicans at the age of 7 years. In 1521, he had a conference with Luther. Having previously perused the writings of Erasmus and of Luther, he was prepared to unite with the German Reformers. He settled at Strasburg, and officiated there both as Minister and theological Professor for 20 years; and with Capito was the chief instrument of the early reformation in that city. When the troubles about the *Interim* arose, he gladly accepted the invitation of Cranmer, and went to England 1549. He was highly respected by the King and Cranmer, as the great honours paid his remains at his funeral testify. In the Marian persecution, his tomb was demolished and his body burnt; but the tomb was afterwards rebuilt by order of Queen Elizabeth. He was learned in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

He revised the Liturgy of the English Church in 1550, at the request of Cranmer. The first step towards a reformation of the service of the Church in England was under Henry VIII. in 1536. Alexander Aless, a Scotchman, who resided sometime in Germany, had imbibed the Lutheran sentiments. He was at this time with Cranmer at Lambeth. Lord Cromwell introduced him to the Convocation, and desired him to give his opinion about the Sacraments. He maintained that Christ instituted only two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. In this Convocation, they agreed to five articles of faith, and five concerning the ceremonies of the Church. These were printed and published with the sanction of Henry.

On the accession of Edward VI. in 1547, the Liturgy of the Church was new modelled from the several Popish missals or mass-books, as of Sarum, Bangor, York, Hereford and Lincoln. Thus reformed, it was published and sanctioned by Edward, in November, 1548. In 1550, the common prayer-book was brought to another revision. Bucer was now Professor at Cambridge; and at Cranmer's request, Alexander Aless at this time translated the Liturgy of 1548 into Latin for the use of Bucer. In the works of Bucer, the translation of Aless is published with the censures of Bucer, which are numerous, and which Burnet says were afterwards mostly adopted. Bucer finished his corrections January 5, 1551, and died February 28.

The Capitation to these is as follows: *The Corrections of Martin Bucer upon the Liturgy, or the order of the Church and the Ministry in the Kingdom of England; written at the request of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.* Opera Buceri, p. 456.

Dr. Heylin, in labouring with much petulance to fix an odium upon Calvin, has highly complimented him, by relating some things which others of that Church are anxious to deny. He says, "That Calvin having taken order with Martin Bucer, on his first coming into England, to give him some account of the English Liturgy; he had no sooner satisfied himself in the sight thereof, but he makes presently his exceptions and demurs upon it"*——and "presently writes back to Bucer, whom he requires to be instant with the Lord Protector, that all such rites as savoured of superstition might be taken away."—"He had his agents in the court, the city, the universities, the country, and *the convocation.*"—"*Let it suffice, that by the eagerness of their solicitations, more than for any thing which could be faulted in the book itself, it was brought under a review (1550) and thereby altered to a further distance than it had before from the rituals of the Church of Rome.*" Heylin Hist. Presb. p. 11 & 12.

Peter Martyr and John Alasco were of the number commissioned to revise and embody a system of ecclesiastical laws for the English Church in 1552. Burnet, Vol. 2, Anno. 1552. In 1551, the articles of faith in the English Church were prepared. Bucer was for beginning with the doctrines before the ceremonies, but Cranmer judged it expedient to delay these till the Liturgy should be settled. In what method they proceeded in compiling the articles Burnet says, is not certain. He supposes that Cranmer and Ridley first framed them, and that they were then sent to others to propose amendments. The doctrines of faith were comprised in 42 articles, and published with the Liturgy in 1552, and established by the King. They were again revised and reduced with some alterations to the present number 39, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth in 1562. Burnet, Vol. 2, p. 158, and Collection, p. 190.

NOTE from the 5th line at the foot of page 215.

Some of the professed friends, as well as the avowed enemies of Calvin, have been anxious to establish the point, that Calvin limited the atonement of Christ to the sins of the elect alone. Calvin's opinion however was, that the atonement of Christ was for *Sin*, as he deliberately says in his Will, *That the blood of the exalted Redeemer was shed for the sins of the human race.*—He is no less explicit in his Commentaries—Rom. v. 18—"Nam etsi passus est Christus pro peccatis totius mundi, atque omnibus indifferenter Dei benignitate offertur, non tamen omnes apprehendunt." *For although* CHRIST

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* Calvin was not alone in his exceptions against the Liturgy, for Cranmer "Fatebatur multa detracta oportere superflua, et ardentibus votis cupiebat ea in melius correcta."—*Cranmer confessed that there were many superfluous things in the Book, that ought to be taken out, and earnestly wished that it might have some further amendment.* Pierce's Vindic. p. 12, 13. quoted by Neal, Vol. 1. Quarto Ed. Appendix, p. 895.

SUFFERED FOR THE SINS OF THE WHOLE WORLD, *and by the benevolence of God it is indifferently offered to all, yet all do not receive him.* Opera Calvini, vol. 7.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES AND SOVEREIGNS OF FRANCE, ENGLAND AND GERMANY, DURING THE LIFE OF CALVIN.

POPES.

Julius II.		died March, 1513.
Leo X.	created March, 1513,	December, 1521.
Adrian VI.	January, 1522,	October, 1523.
Clement VII.	December, 1523,	October, 1534.
Paul III.	October, 1534,	November, 1549.
Julius III.	February, 1550,	April, 1555.
Marcellus II.	April, 1555,	May, 1555.
Paul IV.	June, 1555,	September, 1559.
Pius IV.	January, 1559,	December, 1565.

KINGS OF FRANCE.

Lewis XII.		died 1515.
Francis I.	crowned 1515,	1547.
Henry II.	1547,	1559.
Francis II.	1559,	1560.
Charles IX.	1560,	1574.

KINGS AND QUEENS OF ENGLAND.

Henry VII.	crowned 1509,	died January, 1547.
Edward VI.	February, 1547,	July, 1553.
Mary,	October, 1553,	November, 1558.
Elizabeth,	January, 1559,	March, 1603.

EMPEROURS OF GERMANY.

Maximilian,	died 1515.
Charles V. of Spain, crowned 1519,	resigned 1556.
Ferdinand I. succeeded him, and died	1564.

PRINCIPAL REFORMERS, COTEMPORARIES WITH CALVIN.

Ulrick Zuinglius, died	1531.
John Œcolampadius,	1531.
Martin Luther,	1546.
Philip Melancthon,	1560.
Wolfgang Capito,	1541.
Martin Bucer,	1551.
Henry Bullinger,	1575.
Thomas Cranmer,	1556.
William Farel,	1565.
Peter Viret,	1571.
John Alasco,	1560.
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